CANADIAN LEGISLATURES

The 1985 Comparative Study

ERRATUM

Please note that Table 22, page 64, should read as follows:

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		Opposition	51
		3rd Party	25
		Vacant	1

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Since 1979 when this publication was first conceived, some readers have observed that *Canadian Legislatures* is "something more than just another government publication". In a sense they are right. *Canadian Legislatures* was brought to birth by a group of people working in legislatures in order to provide a vehicle to meet a need: that of sharing information which might in turn improve the standard of legislature administrative management throughout the country.

Through this project Ontario has benefited from new ideas coming from Quebec, from Alberta, British Columbia and the smaller provinces. The smaller provinces in turn have looked to the larger ones. And the House of Commons has followed with interest developments everywhere. Through this process certain benchmarks have been established in legislatures across Canada not only in administrative practices but as well in terms of the type and level of services provided to elected Members.

In 1979 the total budget allocated for the administration of the 10 provincial and two territorial legislatures and the House of Commons was approximately $158 million. In 1985 this figure stands at approximately $326 million, representing an increase of 9.7% over 1984.

Perhaps more than anything else the increase in budgets symbolizes the extent to which Members of legislatures are now providing a central service role to the general public. This figure also represents the considerable amount of up-dating which has been necessary during the past 6 years to provide elected Members with the tools required to do the job. It is a "catch up" process which is far from finished. Coincidentally most legislatures now have Boards of Internal Economy (or their equivalent) which oversee the expenditure of all funds and general administration of the legislature and whose minutes in some cases are a matter of public record.

In 1985 the House of Commons and the Quebec National Assembly are operating under radically different rules as a result of recommendations made by special committees dealing with the reform of those Houses. Similar recommendations have been made for Ontario by the Standing Committee on Procedural Affairs. The effect on each jurisdiction will be to open up the system by placing more responsibility in the hands of individual Members.

A perusal of the charts and information contained in this issue of *Canadian Legislatures* will show that Members' services are being constantly updated throughout Canada. Alberta, for instance, has this year introduced a computer system for its Members. Ontario will also be bringing on line a 150-station Members' Office Automation System which in addition to meeting Members' own requirements will link them to the relevant administrative offices and to outside data bases. Similarly, Ontario is preparing to televise the proceedings of its House through an electronic Hansard.

Following last year's edition of our Study the magazine Civic Public Works commented, "This year's *Canadian Legislatures* for the first time has attempted to draw comparisons between provincial legislators and their U.S. state counterparts. This addition to an already well accepted document extends its unique usefulness".

Canadian Legislatures will continue to publish relevant information and statistics regarding the pay, allowances and services provided to U.S. State Legislators. Comparisons between the U.S. and Canada in many cases are not

practical because the powers and thrusts of the Canadian provinces are not exactly comparable with the U.S. system of state government. However as detailed later in this book there is an important community of interest between Canadian and U.S. legislators. There are certainly ideas, concepts and approaches which can be shared to the benefit of all parties.

The publication of the information contained in this edition would not have been possible without the wholehearted cooperation of the many elected officials and staff listed in the Acknowledgements section. To them we extend our special thanks. We also express our appreciation to the Speaker and Members of the Board of Internal Economy of the Ontario Legislature who have given encouraging support to this endeavour over the past six years.

For this issue, Dr. Eric Jackman of Toronto, a successful financier who spent many years in the academic world, has prepared a Chapter analyzing party control in Canada's legislatures during the period 1970–1985. Voter preferences in Canada have traditionally been subject to wide swings as evidenced by recent elections in Ontario, the Yukon and Quebec. There is however very little information available which catalogues these changes. Dr. Jackman's article underlines the interest which an increasing number of Canadians have in wanting to make a contribution towards a better understanding of contemporary parliamentary democracy. Dr. Jackman has been able to include reference to the results of the December, 1985 Quebec Election in his analyses.

From the outset *Canadian Legislatures* has attempted to be part of a building process: to focus attention on the importance and relevance of legislative institutions as entities distinct from government, and to enhance the role and image of legislators and legislatures.

Perhaps the best proof that legislatures are coming into focus nationally are the increasing numbers of special interest groups, lobbyists and individuals who now knock on Members' doors, appear before legislative committees or demonstrate in front of legislative buildings. There is a new atmosphere of power and positive opportunity surrounding legislatures; a feeling by the public at large that legislatures are where the action is. This was underlined not long ago by the results of a national poll conducted by Environics Research Group Limited for *Canadian Legislatures*. The survey concluded that 75% of Canadians "believed that the best way to get help or information from the government is to contact your federal or provincial Member of Parliament".

Business is becoming increasingly aware of the need to be "plugged into" legislatures, to track relevant legislation and to try to relate to and participate with those in political life who sometimes have a different set of priorities.

The creation in recent years of such organizations as the National Council on Business Issues, the Institute for Political Involvement, and the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy attest to the commitment by a wide range of interested parties to lessening the communications gap between the private and public sectors.

Legislative internship programs in the House of Commons, Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, Alberta and British Columbia are also helping to put the spotlight on Canada's legislatures. Each year a new group of graduates go out from these programs to take up key positions in business, government, the media and the professions. They take with them the message that legislatures are lively places, that a year serving Members is an extremely important educational experience not to be missed if the opportunity comes along.

Earlier this year a review of *Canadian Legislatures* was featured in Le Devoir of Montreal. "The Editors of *Canadian Legislatures* see in the results of their survey considerable support by Canadians for their legislative institutions, and a remarkable vote of confidence in the very important role played by elected officials". To this we can only say, AMEN.

Robert J. Fleming, Editor
Toronto, Canada
December 1985

FOREWORD

Perhaps more than anything else the statistics and general information concerning Canadian and U.S. state legislatures contained in the pages of this Study show that there is a community of elected Members whose common interests transcend provincial and international boundaries. When all is said and done those who work in legislatures, large and small, from East and West, North and South, face common tasks and challenges.

There is no management textbook approach which can be applied to the internal organization of legislatures and the provision of Members' services in Canada and the United States. Legislatures on both sides of the border have developed special procedures to meet their own unique situations. Yet there is a surprising similarity in the conclusions reached by elected Members everywhere.

Some years ago, a senior business executive who had been examining big government said, "I can't understand why you can't give those guys a job description and tell them to get on with it". He was referring to Members of the legislature in his province. He had failed to understand the basic environment of the legislature.

Legislatures are unique and special institutions. They can be slow and tortuous in their deliberations, they can also act with lightning speed. Although they must relate to the bureaucracy of government, legislatures are not in themselves bureaucratic. All those who are elected or serve the elected must have the capacity to take part in continuing change.

In contemplating changes coming to the Ontario Legislature in the future, Mike Breaugh, M.P.P. Chairman of the Procedural Affairs Committee put it this way:

"The role of a Member is varied and complicated. The purpose of the exercise is to provide effective government. We have improved services in the constituencies to the point that the role of a Member as Ombudsman for individual problems is now effective. Other roles as critic, debater, spokesperson for caucuses, etc. can also be accomplished if the Member has talent and is so inclined. The Ontario Legislature is an intriguing blend of tradition and idiocy. The challenge is to retain those traditions which are at least harmless, if not useful, while accepting those changes which are necessary. Ontario is not the fields of Runnymede and our Legislature is changing to meet the twentieth century which surrounds it".

Dr. Austin Ranney of Washington, D.C. whose monograph appears later in this book, has for years been a student of the Congressional system of government and the British Parliamentary system. Speaking recently in Toronto to a meeting of the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary democracy, Dr. Ranney said: "It has always been true that parliamentary and presidential democracies have far more in common than they have differences. The staggering difficulties that all democracies face today as they try to deal with economic growth and stability, the threat of nuclear war, the corrosive effects of racial divisions, and a host of other problems can give neither system the confidence its adherents once had that theirs is clearly the best way to organize democracy. The growing number of convergences between the two systems show that each knows it can learn valuable lessons from the other; and it may well be that those convergences will grow greater in the years to come."

In Canada little has so far been done towards formalizing links between elected Members across the country. Legislative committees travel to other legislatures as part of their particular mandate to seek out information on a given subject. Speakers and some individual Members also travel to other Legislatures in connection with functions of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. However there is no organization in existence with the purpose of specifically encouraging the growth and development of the Canadian legislative community at large.

One program between Canada and the United States which has been successful since 1979 may point the way towards creating some type of permanent structure which could be subscribed to by provincial and territorial legislatures.

The Canada—U.S.A. Legislative Project

The Canada—U.S.A. Legislative Project was initiated in 1979 with the purpose of bringing together provincial cabinet ministers and U.S. state legislative leaders to examine various areas of mutual concern. The Project was originated by the Denver-based National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) with co-sponsorship in Canada by Ontario's Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs. Seed Funding was provided by the William H. Donner Foundation of New York.

The first meeting of the Project was held in Toronto to discuss health programs. Since then, meetings dealing with the economy, energy, transportation, trade issues and tourism have taken place in Canada and the United States. In addition to elected representatives, senior people representing government and the private sector have been invited to take part as resource persons from time to time.

The Canada—U.S.A. Legislative Project has demonstrated that when a forum is provided for legislative leaders to meet together to review political, social and economic problems in an unfettered and open way, fresh solutions often occur.

Specifically, the work of the Project has (a) reduced potential friction between Canadian provinces and the U.S. states by offering a forum at a senior policy making level for the discussion of pressing issues, (b) assisted legislators of both nations to deal with complex governmental issues by exposing them to new ideas and programs, (c) established a network of legislative and business resource persons who could be called upon for assistance and advice on particular issues, (d) produced an opportunity for legislators from Canada and the United States to hear the ideas of business and other private sector groups on issues of mutual concern.

The Project has had some interesting spin-offs in that it has not only opened new doors between Canada and the United States but has provided at the same time an opportunity for Canadian legislators to get to know each other through attending Project meetings. Well over 100 senior legislators have taken part in meetings of the Project in the past six years.

The present sponsors of the program are The Honourable James Horsman, Alberta Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and The Honourable David Nething, Majority Leader of the Senate in North Dakota who is the current President of the National Conference of State Legislatures.

The National Conference of State Legislatures

As evidenced by the statistics and information contained in this issue of *Canadian Legislatures*, the majority of legislatures in the United States have limited sessions and the work of elected Members is still part time. Nevertheless, considerable strides have been made since 1975 in bringing Members together officially under the banner of the National Conference of State Legislatures. This permanent conference is the official representative of the country's state lawmakers and their staffs.

The core funding of NCSL and its central staff in Denver, Colorado and Washington, D.C. comes from appropriations from each legislature based in part on the population of each state. Other sources, including federal agencies and private foundations provide support for specific projects.

The National Conference of State Legislatures, a non-partisan organization, has as its objectives: To improve the quality and effectiveness of state legislatures; foster interstate

There is a community of elected Members whose common interests transcend provincial and international boundaries...

A meeting of The Canada–U.S.A. Legislative Project draws legislative leaders from across the continent to the National Assembly in Quebec.

communication and cooperation; and to assure state legislatures a strong, cohesive voice.

Formalizing Links in Canada

In the United States there are 7,461 lawmakers who serve in 52 legislatures, assisted by approximately 30,000 staff. All come under the umbrella of the National Conference of State Legislatures.

In Canada, there are 738 elected Members in provincial and territorial legislatures supported by approximately 3,000 staff. This represents a sizeable community in terms of outreach into all parts of the country.

When the Editors of *Canadian Legislatures* interviewed the Speakers of provincial and territorial legislatures in 1982 and the Premiers in 1983 they found there was considerable interest to support efforts which could bring elected members together more often and in larger numbers. It was suggested by some that perhaps an equivalent organization might be created in Canada to the National Conference of State Legislatures which could include the whole legislative community—Members and staff. They said that in this way elected Members could make a contribution which would be national in scope. Staff could also play a special role. The work of legislatures everywhere would be enhanced by the creation of such an organization.

THE CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE:

An Overview of the House of Commons, Provincial and Territorial Jursidictions

From its inception in 1979, perhaps the paramount objective of this publication has been to enhance the reader's knowledge and create a new awareness of those institutions known as legislatures. The accomplishment of such a challenge would assist public servants and elected representatives in various jurisdictions to better understand one another as information concerning administrative practices and legislative traditions was exchanged. It was believed that the business of legislating required that elected Members be provided with the "tools of the trade". A compendium of the services available to Members in surrounding legislative assemblies would surely assist in enabling one's own Members.

Since the first publication of *Canadian Legislatures* various provinces have benefited from the ideas and concepts which have flowed back and forth. Even if trends have not been adopted in their entirety by some legislatures, developments have been carefully monitored.

The presentation of statistical information on the Canadian jurisdictions is complete as in former years. American data was first presented in the 1984 Study, but the emphasis was primarily on the ten largest states in the Union. In the 1985 Study, however, there is for the first time a commentary for all the U.S. state legislatures. With a broader provincial/state comparison available now Members' services in both countries can be evaluated in a fuller light.

While no 'common thread' appears in the Study in terms of such issues as calendar day sessions vs. undefined sessions and annual salaries vs. per diem salaries, there seems to be a common striving on the part of Members in both Canada and the U.S. to provide the best services possible as legislator and constituency advocate.

In comparing the operations of Canada's legislative bodies, one fact that emerges clearly is the absence of a single, standardized approach to administrative management. Each jurisdiction has adopted its own methods, and it is clear from examining the variation in the services provided to Members that each has its own set of priorities and approaches to helping elected officials function effectively.

Statistical information has been compiled under four chapter headings: Members' Indemnities, Salaries, Allowances and Benefits; Support Services for Private Members; Administrative Structures; and House Statistics.

In analysing the Canadian picture for 1985, there were three elections since our last publication, two of which produced significant changes in the composition of their legislative assemblies. Nova Scotia voters went to the polls on November 6, 1984 and accorded a third term to the governing Progressive Conservative Party. An Ontario election on May 2, 1985 saw the Progressive Conservative Government reduced to minority status which subsequently gave way to a co-operative agreement between the Liberals and NDP which defeated the Administration and resulted in the first Liberal Government being formed in 42 years. An upset was also evidenced in the Yukon where a May election ended the Conservative Government's tenure and produced a minority NDP Government with the support of the Liberal Party. The results of the December 2nd Quebec provincial general election indicate that the governing Parti Quebecois have been replaced by the Liberal Party.

Considering Members' remuneration and entitlements across the country, the rates of

increase over 1984 were less than in the previous year; five jurisdictions registered no increases at all, compared with two last year; the highest rate of increase declined from 7.4% in New Brunswick to 6.3% in Nova Scotia. Some legislatures which experienced percentage rises in their basic indemnities did not increase the additional indemnities for various office holders by the same rate; some did not increase the latter category at all.

Committee allowances for Members were altered in five jurisdictions, while some legislatures maintained their practice of not allowing per diems for committee work or, if so, only in certain instances.

Increases in accommodation allowances ranged from 4% in Ontario and Quebec; to 11% in New Brunswick; to 12% in the Northwest Territories. A per diem was introduced in British Columbia. Travel allowances rose marginally but remained steady in five of the jurisdictions. The provinces of Quebec, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories saw alterations in Members' pension program.

Under the category of Support Services for Private Members, there were several changes in services at the legislature; the provincial boundaries for telephone long distance calls were removed in Manitoba; Yukon began issuing long distance credit cards; Members in Ontario began receiving global allowance amounts for staff; secretarial salary levels rose between a range of 3.7% in Saskatchewan and 16% in PEI. Constituency allowances were raised by 3.2% in Ottawa, 5.5% in Saskatchewan, and in Quebec between a range of 4.8% and 12.5% depending on the size and classification of the riding.

The September 1984 federal general election saw alterations being introduced in the research budgets as determined by the Board of Internal Economy; allocations rose in PEI, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec. With the arrival of minority government in Ontario there were changes in caucus funding as the size of the different caucuses was altered. Other provinces also saw modest increases in caucus funding. There are still only four jurisdictions which provide funds to be used for personal research assistants for Members.

The Legislatures of New Brunswick and British Columbia made their legislative libraries part of the Legislative Assembly in 1985; five legislatures recorded increases in their library budgets and staff; Quebec saw a lowering in both.

The budgets for legislative operations in the House of Commons, provincial and territorial assemblies will increase by approximately 9.7% in 1985; the House of Commons will represent 50.2% of the total legislative expenditures of $325,696,000.

Only the province of Newfoundland and the Yukon Territory experienced no change in the number of employees at their respective legislatures.

Legislative Assembly Estimates go before a Standing Committee in six jurisdictions and before the Committee of the Whole House in the remaining seven.

The Hansard Budgets range from $228,000 in the Yukon to $6,984,000 in Ottawa.

Manitoba and Alberta have special allowances available to Members which may be allocated within certain parameters according to that Member's priorities.

Word processors may be found in Members' offices in Alberta and Caucus Offices in Manitoba, Saskatchewan; micro-computers are available to Members in the Northwest Territories on a loan basis; Ontario and especially the House of Commons have more sophisticated office automation programs for their Members. The project is at the implementation stages in Ontario.

The foregoing is an encapsulation of the mozaic of services and allowances to elected Members which, while rivalled by the state legislatures in some respects, are nonetheless distinctly Canadian.

ELECTION RESULTS

In each edition of *Canadian Legislatures*, the editors consider the results of general elections which have occurred in the 13 jurisdictions during the previous year. Ordinarily, September 1st is treated as the effective date for purposes of the analysis. Accordingly, the outcome of the Nova Scotia general election of November 6, 1984 is discussed in this edition. Ontario and the Yukon also sent their respective electorates to the polls in the preceding year.

Statistical information is obtained from personal profiles supplied by various caucus or political party offices and is supplemented by biographical sketches contained in the Canadian Parliamentary Guide. In some instances information is either vague or conflicting, and in these cases the Editors have used their best judgment in assigning the most appropriate category.

Nova Scotia

The election saw a victory for the Progressive Conservative Party as they were returned to power for a third term. About 68% of 610,162 eligible voters cast ballots, a relatively light turnout by Nova Scotia standards. The Conservatives attracted 51% of the popular vote and won 42 seats in the 52-seat Legislature, a gain of 4 seats over the 1981 election. All Cabinet Ministers who ran again won re-election. With 31% of the popular vote, the Liberal Party was down 4 points which translated into the loss of 7 of the 12 seats (including the defeat of the Party Leader) which they had held during the last legislative session.

Maintaining its popular vote of 16% from the 1981 election, the New Democratic Party regained its official party status, re-electing its leader—one of only two women to lead a major political party in Canada—and also electing two additional Members who both defeated incumbents.

The Leader of the Cape Breton Labour Party was re-elected but none of his party colleagues won election in the 14 ridings which they contested. The Labour Party captured 2% of the popular vote.

Standings of the parties at dissolution on September 28th were: Conservatives 38; Liberals 12; NDP 1; Labour 1.

Age of the Members

The average age of the Members at the time of the 1984 election, compared with the corresponding figure for the 1981 election, indicates a slight reduction. The average age of Members in Nova Scotia now is approximately 45.4 years whereas in 1981 it was 47.4.

Years of Service

The average years of service at the time of the election decreased only slightly from 5.55 years for Members elected in 1981 to 5.48 for the current Nova Scotia Legislature.

Professional Backgrounds

In considering the professional backgrounds of elected Members, 5 categories have been identified: business, education, law, farming and 'other'. The information was available for all Members of the 1981 Legislature but was not available for 2 Members following the recent election. It can readily be seen that the professional composition of the Nova Scotia Legislature has experienced only marginal change. Representation in the House by business people and farmers is identical with the 1981 fig-

Table A PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUNDS—NOVA SCOTIA

Category	*1981 Election*	*1984 Election*	*% change*
Business	10 (19.2%)	10 (19.2%)	0%
Education	9 (17.3%)	7 (13.4%)	−3.9%
Law	10 (19.2%)	9 (17.3%)	−1.9%
Farming	5 (9.6%)	5 (9.6%)	0%
Other	18 (34.6%)	19 (36.5%)	+1.9%
No information	0	2 (3.8%)	+3.8%

Table B EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS—NOVA SCOTIA

Category	*1981 Election*	*1984 Election*	*% Change*
Secondary	13 (25%)	10 (19.2%)	−5.8%
Post-Secondary	21 (40.4%)	23 (44.2%)	+3.8%
Post-Graduate	18 (34.6%)	19 (36.5%)	+1.9%

Table C PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE—NOVA SCOTIA

Category	*1981 Election*	*1984 Election*	*% change*
Municipal	14 (26.92%)	12 (23.1%)	−3.82%
Federal	0	0	

ures. The number of elected lawyers has declined by 1; those with a background in education have decreased by 2. A rise of 1.9% in the Members whose professions do not fit into the categories as listed is indicative of an increase of 1.

Educational Backgrounds

Information being available for the entire House in both 1981 and 1984, the 3 categories listed are: those with no education beyond the secondary level leading to a university or college degree; those with an undergraduate university or college degree; and those with some form of post-graduate education. For purposes of comparison, the figures indicate that with the 5.8% decline in the number of Members who have no education beyond the secondary school level comes a corresponding increase of 3.8% in the number of those who have furthered their education. The trend toward higher education is also seen in the 1 additional Member in 1984 who had post-graduate training.

Previous Political Experience

None of the provincial Members elected in Nova Scotia in either 1981 or 1984 had any previous federal political experience. On the municipal scene, however, 26.9% of the Members could claim experience in 1981. This figure decreased slightly to 23.21% in 1984.

Women Members

There was an encouraging increase in the number of women elected as Members in 1984. A rise of 5.7% moved the number from 1 in 1981 to 3 following the recent election. One of the women elected was the Leader of the New Democratic party to whose caucus two new Members were also added.

Ontario

The May 2 election saw a sweeping change in the composition of the Ontario Legislature. The Progressive Conservative Party was reduced to 52 seats from the 72 which they had

held in the last legislature; the Liberals increased substantially to 48 from 28 and the New Democratic Party won 25 seats, 3 more than it had held before. On the date of dissolution in late March, there were also 3 vacancies.

In terms of the popular vote, the Liberals captured 37.9%; the Progressive Conservatives 37% and the NDP 23.8%. The remainder went to other parties. In 1981, the Conservatives had won 70 seats with 44.4% of the popular vote; the Liberals 34 seats with 33.7% and the NDP 21 seats with 21.1%.

Going into the 1985 election, 28 of the 125 Members—nearly 23%, the highest in four decades - were not available either through death or retirement to run again. Even with the by-elections to fill the vacancies over the 4 years, 22 ridings still offered ballots with no incumbent. A total of 26 ridings or 20.8% of the seats in the House changed hands. There were 18 Members defeated in their bids for re-election. Taking into account also those ridings which did not change but still sent representatives of the same political party to Queen's Park, the election produced 39 new Members altogether. This number represents 31.2% of the 125 legislative seats.

A co-operative agreement between the Liberals and the NDP enabled them to defeat the Conservatives' Minority Government on a confidence motion in June, 1985. The Liberals thereafter were invited to form the next government.

Age of Members

From 1981 to 1985, the average age of the Members inched up from 47 to 47.3.

Years of Service

There was a slight decline here from 7.2 years in 1981 to 6.27 years following the 1985 election. The decrease is to be expected given the number of newly elected Members.

Professional Backgrounds

The same categories of business, education, law, farming and other are utilized for Ontario's election results. The trend is similar to that for last year's federal election though not as pronounced: a decrease in the number of lawyers elected with a corresponding increase in the number of Members with business backgrounds. The most significant increase was that of 4% for Members with educational training, reflecting perhaps the increase in the number of teachers being elected to the Assembly. There was one more farmer elected in 1985 than in 1981.

There was a decrease of 5.6% for those Members whose backgrounds do not fit into the given categories. No information was available for 4 of the elected representatives.

Educational Backgrounds

A 2.4% decline indicated fewer Members being elected to the Ontario Legislature with only secondary school education. A corresponding but modest increase of 0.8% for Members with post-secondary training follows; an increase of 1.6% for those elected individuals with post-graduate backgrounds further indicates a tendency toward formal educational training.

Previous Political Experience

A rise of 6.4% over 1981 shows that more municipal politicians are seeking and gaining election to the Ontario Legislature as Members. The present House has 8 more individuals with municipal training than it had 4 years ago. One additional provincial Member over 1981 had also had experience in federal politics.

Women

In 1981 there were 6 women serving as Members at Queen's Park, though, when the election was called in 1985, there were 7. As a result of the electorate's decision there are now 9 women sitting as Members in the Legislature. There are three each for the Conservatives, Liberals and the New Democrats, representing 7.2% of the House. There was a record 69 women who stood for election in 1985 and 2 of

Table D PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUNDS—ONTARIO

Category	*1981 Election*	*1985 Election*	*% Change*
Business	31 (24.8%)	33 (26.4%)	+ 1.6%
Education	20 (16.0%)	25 (20.0%)	+4%
Law	22 (17.6%)	18 (14.4%)	− 3.2%
Farming	18 (14.4%)	19 (15.2%)	+ 5.5%
Other	33 (26.4%)	26 (20.8%)	−21.2%
No information	1 (0.8%)	4 (3.2%)	+ 2.4%

Table E EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS—ONTARIO

Category	*1981 Election*	*1985 Election*	*% Change*
Secondary	41 (32.8%)	38 (30.4%)	−2.4%
Post-Secondary	46 (36.8%)	47 (37.6%)	+ .8%
Post-Graduate	38 (30.4%)	40 (32.0%)	+1.6%

Table F PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE—ONTARIO

Category	*1981 Election*	*1985 Election*	*% Change*
Municipal	51 (40.8%)	59 (47.2%)	+6.4%
Federal	2 (1.6%)	3 (2.4%)	+ .8%

the victors defeated cabinet ministers. The NDP had 27 women candidates, the Liberals 16 and the Conservatives 18.

The first 2 women were elected to the Ontario Legislature in 1943 and since then, 13 more have been elected.

Yukon

The May election in the Yukon witnessed an established governing party being rejected by the electorate. With 16 seats in the Yukon Legislature, the NDP won 8, the Conservatives 6 and the Liberals 2. With 10,548 Yukoners voting, the turnout was 78%. Considering the popular vote, the Conservatives captured 47%, the NDP 41%, the Liberals 8% and the Independents 4%.

In 1982, the Conservatives held 9 seats with 46% of the popular vote; the NDP 6 with 35%, the Liberals 0 with 15% and the Pro-Tory Independent 1 with 4%.

Party politics first came to the Yukon in 1978 when the Conservative Party held 10 seats, the Liberals 2 and the NDP 1.

The NDP now form a minority government in the Yukon with the support of the Liberal Party.

Age of Members

Compared with 1982 when the average age of the elected Members was 39, there has been little change as the average age is now 39.6. This change is, however, perhaps more significant given the smaller size of the elected body in the Yukon.

Years of Service

Given the number of Members and the political turnabout which has taken place, it is understandable that the years of service should decline from 3.37 to 3.18.

Table G PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUNDS—YUKON

Category	*1982 Election*	*1985 Election*	*% Change*
Business	6 (37.5%)	7 (43.7%)	+6.2%
Education	1 (6.2%)	0	−6.2%
Law	1 (6.2%)	2 (12.5%)	+6.3%
Native Organization	3 (18.7%)	3 (18.7%)	0%
Other	5 (31.2%)	4 (25.0%)	−6.2%

Table H EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS—YUKON

Category	*1982 Election*	*1985 Election*	*% Change*
Secondary	10 (62.5%)	6 (37.5%)	−25%
Post-Secondary	5 (31.2%)	7 (43.7%)	+12.5%
Post-Graduate	1 (6.2%)	1 (6.2%)	0%
No Information	0	2 (12.5%)	+12.5%

Table I PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE—YUKON

Category	*1982 Election*	*1985 Election*	*% Change*
Municipal	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.7%)	+6.2%
Federal	—	—	

Professional Background

In considering the professional backgrounds, the categories referred to are now: Business, Education, Law, Native Organization and Other. Native Organization is the only category which has not changed. There has been an expected increase in the percentage of Members with business backgrounds but the number of elected lawyers has also increased instead of falling off as in the previous two jurisdictions. There are presently no Members with backgrounds in education. There was also a decrease in the number of elected officials whose educational training does not fit into these classifications.

Educational Backgrounds

Between the two elections, the number of Members with secondary school training fell from 10 to 6, representing a difference in percentage terms of 25%. As may be expected, the post-secondary education figures increased from 31.2% to 43.7% of the elected Members over the 3 year period. There was no increase in the post-graduate area. Information was not available for 2 of the Members.

Previous Political Experience

While none of the 16 individuals had experienced federal politics in either 1982 or 1985, the 1985 Legislature saw an additional municipal politician elected. There are presently 3 such Members in the House.

Women Members

The representation in the Yukon Legislature by women remains unchanged at 3 Members or 18.7% of the House.

Quebec

A provincial general election on December 2, 1985 yielded a decisive victory for the Liberal Party. They won 99 seats, capturing 57% of the popular vote. The ruling Parti Quebecois stood at 23 seats with 37% of the popular vote. This electoral development will be analysed in greater detail in the 1986 Study.

CANADIAN LEGISLATURES

LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION FOR 1985

MEMBERS' INDEMNITIES, SALARIES, ALLOWANCES & BENEFITS

Each one of the legislative jurisdictions in Canada determines the most appropriate way of reimbursing its elected representatives. While some legislatures place more importance on actual remuneration, others have devised elaborate systems of allowances to enable their Members to travel throughout their constituencies. This is especially the case in larger provinces where ridings are significantly removed from the capital. Different combinations of monetary and non-monetary entitlements are utilized in order that Members may be able to fulfill the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon them both within their ridings and at the legislature.

It is important for readers to bear in mind that, in order to arrive at a fair and accurate comparison of Members' compensation across the country, the entire range of indemnities and allowances must be considered. Comparisons of individual categories on their own might leave a distorted impression. The Editors have isolated particular categories of allowances and perquisites for the sole purpose of providing readers with easy access to specific information.

Remuneration Entitlements

In considering the basic remuneration and tax-free allowances for Members and comparing the percentage increases for 1985 over 1984, we can make several observations. The range of increases for the 13 jurisdictions is from 0 in the province of Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland to a high of 6.3% in Nova Scotia. This latter province and New Brunswick were the only jurisdictions in which the entitlement for Private Members exceeded 5%. In fact, 3 of the provinces which registered an increase of 0 in 1985 recorded increases for 1984 of between 4% and 7.2%. The provinces of British Columbia and Alberta were, however, consistent in that their rates of growth for Members' entitle-

Table 1 RANKING OF BASIC REMUNERATION PAID TO PRIVATE MEMBERS
(Sessional Indemnity plus Tax-Free Allowance)

Jurisdiction	*1985 Figures*	*1984 Figures*	*% Increase*
H of C	72,800	70,400	3.4%
QUE	48,536	46,741	3.8%
ONT	46,494	46,494	0%
NB	42,896	40,698	5.4%
BC	40,047	40,047	0%
MAN	34,872	33,750	3.3%
YUKON	31,833	30,317	5%
ALTA	31,460	31,460	0%
SASK	31,452	31,452	0%
NS	30,940	29,100	6.3%
NFLD	23,022	23,022	0%
PEI	22,800	21.900	4.1%
NWT	19,000	18,444	3%

Table 2 REMUNERATION FOR ELECTED MEMBERS

Category	*H of C*	*Nfld*	*P.E.I.*	*N S*	*N B*
Effective Date	*1 Jan 85*	*1 Apr 83*	*1 Sep 85*	*1 Jan 85*	*1 Jan 85*
PRIVATE MEMBERS					
Basic Indemnity	54,600	15,348	15,600	20,800	30,640
% increase during 1985	3.41%	0%	4.69%	7.2%	5.4%
Tax-free Allowance	*18,200	**7,674	7,200	10,140	12,256
ADDITIONAL INDEMNITY FOR VARIOUS OFFICE HOLDERS					
Prime Minister	62,300	40,000	41,650	40,860	***41,874
Minister with Portfolio	41,700	29,000	29,400	31,670	***27,217
Minister without Portfolio	41,700	14,500	N/A	31,670 up to	20,938
Parliamentary Assistant	9,200	15,000	N/A	N/A	N/A
Opposition Leader	41,700	29,000	23,800	31,670	27,917
Third Party Leader	25,100	N/A	N/A	15,835	N/A
Speaker	41,700	29,000	9,000	31,670	20,938
Deputy Speaker	21,900	10,000	4,600	15,835	10,469
Deputy Chairman of Committee of Whole	9,200	5,000	N/A	N/A	N/A
Standing Committee Chairmen	N/A	3,000	N/A	1,700	N/A
Standing Committee Vice Chairmen	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Deputy Government House Leader	N/A	N/A	N/A	3,000	N/A
Opposition House Leader	20,500	15,000	N/A	2,000	N/A
Deputy Opposition House Leader	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Third Party House Leader	8,800	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chief Government Whip	11,400	3,090	N/A	3,676 ($85/Mem)	1,500
Assistant Government Whip	6,600	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chief Opposition Whip	11,400	3,090	N/A	510 ($85/Mem)	1,500
Assistant Opposition Whip	6,600	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chief Third Party Whip	6,600	N/A	N/A	255 ($85/Mem)	N/A
Assistant Third Party Whip	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Number of Members receiving more than basic indemnity	82 (29%)	28 (54%)	13 (40%)	52 (100%)	23 (40%)

*tax-free allowance is increased to $22,400 for 23 MPs and $24,100 for 3 MPs

**Members also receive travel allowance of $11,511 to $15,511 depending on distance to St. John's

***1 Apr 85

Table 2 REMUNERATION FOR ELECTED MEMBERS

Que	*Ont*	*Man*	*Sask*	*Alta*	*B C*	*N W T*	*Yukon*
1 Jan 85	*1 Apr 84*	*1 Apr 85*	*1 Jan 84*	*1 Jan 83*	*1 Jan 82*	*1 Apr 85*	*1 Apr 84*
40,400	34,808	23,248	20,968	24,310	26,698	18,000	22,854
3.8%	0%	3.3%	0%	0%	0%	3.19%	5%
8,136	11,686	11,624	10,484	7,150	13,349	1,000	•••••8,979 ••••••11,427
52,520	42,917	24,111	37,656	50,494	36,480	52,160	29,634
36,360	25,504	18,111	28,327	37,044	31,283	52,160	23,707
32,320	12,807	13,111	28,327	26,278	N/A	N/A	N/A
8,340	7,880	2,500	6,907	N/A	••••3,000	N/A	N/A
36,360	29,888	18,111	28,327	37,044	24,762	N/A	2,783
14,140	14,998	N/A	14,163	9,261	N/A	N/A	1,113
36,360	18,826	15,500	11,054	37,044	24,762	12,000	6,678
16,160	7,880	3,500	6,562	18,522	11,056	8,000	3,339
N/A	5,473	2,500	1,923	9,261	••••2,000	6,000	N/A
10,100	4,268	N/A	1,923 /sess.	N/A	N/A	3,000	2,226
8,080	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
8,340	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
14,140	9,741	2,500	1,923 /sess.	N/A	••••1,500	N/A	N/A
6,950	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
N/A	7,333	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
14,140	9,741	2,500	3,206	N/A	••••2,000	N/A	N/A
6,950	6,676/ 4,815	N/A	1,923 /sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
12,120	6,676	2,500	3,206 /sess.	N/A	••••1,500	N/A	N/A
6,950	4,815	N/A	1,923 /sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6,950	5,473	N/A	1,035 /sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
N/A	4,378	N/A	517 /sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
81 (66%)	73 (58%)	32 (56%)	48 (75%)	34 (43%)	35 (61%)	15 (63%)	9 (56%)

••••21 Feb 85
•••••in town Members
••••••out of town Members

ments were 0 both for last year and the present year. This is perhaps in keeping with the legislation in effect in British Columbia which has suspended the automatic indexing provisions.

Every legislative jurisdiction does not allow for automatic indexing: in Ontario, the increases must be made by specific statutory amendment; in Nova Scotia, an annual review is conducted by an appointed Commission; in Newfoundland, the increases must be made by order-in-council based on increases given to the civil service.

There were only two jurisdictions—Nova Scotia and the Yukon—which recorded increases for 1985 which actually exceeded their percentage increment for the previous year.

Comparing the recorded increases for the House of Commons with the various provinces, it can be seen that in 1984 Ottawa was surpassed in percentage growth by only 3 provinces: New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

For 1985, the identical list of provinces rises to 5: New Brunswick, Quebec, Nova Scotia, PEI, and the Yukon. The highest precentage rise for 1985 was 6.3% in Nova Scotia; in 1984 the highest figure was 7.4% growth in Members' entitlements in New Brunswick.

In analysing the numbers in Table 2: Remuneration for Elected Members, the following observations may be made. In the House of Commons the basic indemnity and the tax-free allowance both rose by 3.4%. Under additional indemnities for office holders the increases were all at 2.3% and the Chief Government Whip and Chief Opposition Whip at 2.7%. The number of Members receiving additional indemnities rose from 72 to 82.

The province of PEI saw its basic indemnity rise by 4.7% but its tax-free allowance only by 2.6%. The additional indemnities for the Premier and Ministers with Portfolio increased by 6.1%; the Speaker by 4.7%; the Opposition Leader by 4.4%; and the Deputy Speaker by 2.2%.

The province of Nova Scotia recorded a 7.2% rise in its basic indemnity while the tax-free allowance was up only 4.5%. Increases for other office holders saw a similar increase in the additional indemnities of 4.5%; the Premier received a 3.4% increase; Ministers without Portfolio and the Third Party Leader received additional moneys, whereas last year they did not; so too the Deputy Government House Leader received $3,000; the Standing Committee Chairmen and Opposition House Leader saw no increases. It should be noted here that while the Deputy Government House Leader receives $3,000, the Internal Economy Board Regulations—1985 provide in Section 14(1) that the Government House Leader shall be paid $5,000 as well. This position is, in many jurisdictions, simply figured in as an additional responsibility for an existing cabinet minister. With the increase in the number of seats for the Government in the 1984 election and the corresponding decrease for the Opposition, the upward and downward trends are reflected in indemnity paid to the Chief Government Whip and Chief Opposition Whip respectively. The number of Members receiving more than the basic indemnity increased by 9 to 52.

The basic indemnity and tax-free allowance both moved up by 5.4% in New Brunswick. The Premier, Ministers with Portfolio and the Opposition Leader saw 6.2% increases in their indemnities. Other increases were at 5.4%; the Opposition and Government Whips were unchanged; and the number of Members receiving the additional indemnity was at 25, an increase of 2.

Quebec saw a 3.9% increase in its basic indemnity and tax-free allowance, and in its other recorded increases. Parliamentary Assistants, the Assistant Opposition Whip and the Third Party Chief Whip were unchanged. Standing Committee Chairmen increased from $4,170 to $10,100 while Standing Committee Vice-Chairmen saw a rise from $1,945 to $8,080. Also constant from 1984 were: the Deputy Government House Leader; the Deputy Opposition House Leader; and the Assistant Government Whip.

Provinces which were consistent from 1984 and registered no additions in the remunerative categories were: Newfoundland, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The number of Members receiving additional indemnities, however, rose by 1 to 33 in Manitoba and by 2 in Alberta to 34. Also, in British Columbia this same category of Members rose by 13 to 35, which represents 61% of the House.

This trend reflected the increase in the number of Parliamentary Assistants in B.C.

Considering the Northwest Territories, the basic indemnity rose by 3.2% but the tax-free allowance remained constant at $1,000. The Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Deputy Chairman of the Committee of the Whole and the Standing Committee Chairmen all received indemnities where none existed previously. The number of such Members increased from 12 to 15.

In the Yukon, the tax-free allowance and basic indemnity rose by 5% while a new category of tax-free allowance for out-of-town Members was created and set at $11,427. All recorded increases were at a rate of 5% and all of the office holders experienced the increase. An increase of 2 put the number of Members receiving more than their basic indemnity at 9.

Committee Allowances

The year, 1985, saw 5 jurisdictions altering committee allowances for elected Members. In PEI the expense allowance for mileage was increased from 23¢ to 24.6¢ per km. The province of Quebec raised its per diem allowance by 4%—from $100 to $104.

While Manitoba did not increase its per diem for committee work by Members, it did decide that in addition to the $50 per day being paid when the House is not sitting, the same amount should also apply if the House has been adjourned for 4 days or more. However, Cabinet Ministers and the Leader of the Opposition are excluded.

The per diem for committee work in Saskatchewan rose from $100 to $105. The Northwest Territories altered their per diem by 3.8% when the Management Services Board approved the new amount of $160. This same jurisdiction also accorded an increase of 12% to the allowance for Members who reside outside the locality where the committee meeting is being held. The daily allowance paid when a meeting is held within the Member's riding rose from $35.05 to $40, representing an increase of 14.1%.

Quebec remains the only province which does not provide Members with an expense allowance for eligible committee meetings. Nova Scotia does not pay a per diem allowance but does provide an annual allowance to Members for all their committee work. This allocation of $1,700 remains unchanged from 1984.

The House of Commons, New Brunswick and the Yukon do not allow per diems for committee work. The province of British Columbia retains the practice of allowing a daily allotment only after the Cabinet has considered each committee individually and determined whether such a request is warranted. The entitlement is then granted by Order-in-Council.

The range of daily expense allowances for the various jurisdictions is from $10 in PEI to $100 plus travel expenses in New Brunswick.

Expense allowances are non-accountable in some Legislatures and in others, the travel and accommodation expenses may be claimed over and above the per diem figure.

Table 3 COMMITTEE ALLOWANCES

	a. per diem *b. expense allowance*
H of C	*a.* none b. travel costs paid by House of Commons when Committee sitting outside Ottawa —expense allowances: (i) within Canada: $40 per day S. of 60th parallel; $45 N. of 60th parallel (ii) outside Canada: higher of $50 per day or decided by Speaker based on particular circumstances of city —non-accountable
NFLD	*a.* $50 per day ($75 for Chairman) up to maximum of $2,000 ($3,000 for Chairman) for meeting days when House not sitting—restricted to Select Committees *b.* actual expenses for accommodation and travel on submission of receipts
PEI	*a.* $75 per day when House not sitting *b.* $10 per meeting day for meals on submission of receipts, plus mileage at 24.6¢ per km
NS	*a.* none—$1,700 per year for attendance at all Committee meetings; established by BOIE—last revision 1984 *b.* $50 per day for meals, up to $50 per day for accommodation on submission of receipts

NB *a.* none—repealed in 1979
b. $200 per day non-accountable allowance for each day Committee meets, plus travel expenses; established by BOIE—last revision 15 July 1981

QUE *a.* $104 per day when House not sitting
b. none

ONT *a.* $63 per day ($73 for Chairman) for meeting and travelling days when House not sitting or when Committee is travelling whether or not House is sitting—last revision 1 April 1984
b. $27 per day non-accountable allowance, plus travel and accommodation expenses on submission of receipts; established by BOIE

MAN *a.* $50 per day when House not sitting—or has been adjourned for four or more days—excluding Cabinet Ministers and Opposition Leader—last revision 1980
b. expense accounts for accommodation, meals and travel are submitted to Provincial Auditor for approval; established by statute

SASK *a.* $105 per day—tied to Industrial Composite Index - last revision 1 Jan. 1984
b. actual expenses for accommodation, meals and travel on submission of receipts

ALTA *a.* $100 per day when House not sitting—last revision 1983
b. actual expenses for meals, travel, taxi and laundry on submission of receipts; $75 per day for accommodation; established by statute

BC *a.* established by Order-in-Council for specific Committee—Members usually receive no per diem for Committee work
b. reasonable expenses for accommodation, meals and travel on submission of receipts

NWT *a.* $160 per day when House not sitting—outlined in statute—approved by Management and Service Board - usually once a year—last revision 1 April 1985
b. $140 per day non-accountable allowance for Members residing outside locality where Committee meeting being held; $40 per day if meeting held in Member's riding; established by statute

YUKON *a.* none
b. $35 per day for meals plus actual expenses for accommodation plus travel expenses equivalent to rates paid to civil servants (26¢ per km for car or actual expenses for other modes of travel)—available only if Committee meets on day House not sitting

Accommodation Allowance

The House of Commons and PEI are now the only jurisdictions which do not provide a specific accommodation allowance for Members who represent constituencies outside the capital region. Formerly in this same category, British Columbia now provides an allowance of $15 per day for Members who represent a riding within the capital district or who are within commuting distance of same. The remaining Members receive $30 per day which is paid for the first 50 sitting days of the Legislature each calendar year.

New Brunswick increased the daily accommodation allowance for private Members by 11%, from $45 to $50. In Quebec, the annual accommodation for eligible Members rose by 4% to $7,800. Likewise in Ontario, the BOIE approved an annual amount of $9,745 for private Members (an increase of 4%) and $10,745 for Cabinet Ministers and Party Leaders. This latter figure represented a climb of 3.6%.

The province of Saskatchewan also registered increases in accommodation allowances of 3.8% for Regina Members (from $52 to $54) and 4.8% for Members outside Regina (from $84 to $88).

By statute in 1985, the Northwest Territories amended its non-accountable daily allowance to Members (during a house sitting) by 12% to $140. In the Yukon, there remains no maximum for accommodation costs when the House is sitting (Ministers are excluded), but there is a maximum of $4,400 per year when the House is not sitting. Members are also now given the option of renting or leasing accommodation (during the non-sitting period) in Whitehorse up to a monthly maximum of $400 plus up to a maximum of $2,200 per year.

The range of accommodation allowances for those jurisdictions which actually pay per diems is now from a low of $15 in British Columbia to a high of $140 in the Northwest Territories.

Table 4 ACCOMMODATION ALLOWANCE

H of C	none
NFLD	Established by BOIE and reviewed on ad hoc basis: $59.40 per day when House sitting; Member restricted to rental accommodation
PEI	none
NS	Established and reviewed by BOIE—last revision 1 Jan. 1984: up to $50 per day on submission of receipts
NB	Established and reviewed by BOIE (1972): $50 for accommodation and $35 for meals on days House sitting; Ministers are not eligible
QUE	Established and reviewed by BOIE: $7,800 per year—Premier provided with apartment in Government Building—Speaker provided with apartment in Legislative Building; Member may rent or buy—allowance based on rental value
ONT	Established and reviewed by BOIE (1974)—last revision 1 April 1985: up to $9,745 for Members—$10,745 for Ministers and Party Leaders—Speaker provided with apartment in Legislative Building; Member may rent or buy—claims on owned accommodation restricted to specified operating expenses
MAN	Established by statute: $40 per day when House sitting—Speaker provided with apartment in Legislative Building
SASK	Established by statute (1972): $54 per day for Regina Members—$88 per day for other Members while House sitting—includes Speaker; tied to Industrial Composite Index
ALTA	Established by statute: $75 per day when House is sitting—$75 per day to maximum of 24 days per year when House not sitting—includes Speaker
BC	$15 per day for Members representing ridings within capital district or commuting distance of the capital—$30 per day for other Members; allowance is paid for the first 50 sitting days of the Legislature each calendar year.
NWT	Established by statute (1985): $140 non-accountable allowance per day when House sitting; Member may rent or buy
YUKON	Actual expenses for accommodation plus $35 per day for meals when House sitting—no maximum—excludes Ministers; up to maximum of $4,400 per year when House not sitting or Members may rent to lease accommodation in Whitehorse up to a maximum of $400 per month plus up to maximum of $2,200 per year—available to all Members from ridings outside Whitehorse

Travel Allowances

All jurisdictions provide some form of allowance for Members to travel back and forth between their constituencies and the seat of government.

Travel allowances in Alberta remain unchanged from last year. The Members are permitted unlimited travel by any mode of transportation with the same limitation of 52 round car trips per year and 15,000 km. additional travel throughout the province. The situation in the Yukon is also unaltered from last year, Members still being allowed unlimited travel while the House is sitting but Private Members being restricted to a maximum of 24 round trips per year during the off-session period; Cabinet Ministers are restricted to 12.

In the Northwest Territories the number of trips has been increased from 2 to 3 per year within the constituency by chartered aircraft or economy class. The previous limitation of 5 round trips when the House is not sitting remains. In addition, the Member or a designated person may take one economy round trip after 5 sitting days, two economy round trips after 20 sitting days and three such trips after 35 sitting days. The car allowance rates for the Yukon and the Northwest Territories are set at 26¢ per km. and remain unchanged from last year; however, these two jurisdictions still have the highest per km. rate, surpassed only by the amended rate of 27¢ per km. for Members in Ontario representing northern ridings.

The province of New Brunswick increased its car allowance rates from last year: to 23 1/2¢ from 22¢ for the first 7,000 kms., to 22¢ from 20 1/2¢ for the next 7,000 kms., and to 19 1/2¢ from 18¢ for anything over 14,000 kms.

Table 5 TRAVEL ALLOWANCES

H of C Established and reviewed by BOIE—established 1963—last reviewed in March 1985: maximum 52 travel points per year for travel between Ottawa and constituency—10 of 52 may be used for travel to any place in Canada—3 of 10 may be used by spouse and/or designated family member—9 of 52 may be used by spouse, designated family member and/or full-time eligible staff for travel to/from the constituency; travel within constituency by road, water or air limited to between $1,225 and $6,125 per year depending on type of riding—restricted to Member

Specific Regulations:

Air: 1st class for Member (1 point deducted); spouse or designated family member may travel 1st class (1 1/2 points) or economy or economy (1 point)—1st class entitlement established 1980; economy class for staff

Bus or Boat: within allowance

Train: unlimited travel; Via Rail pass issued to Member and family; not included in 52 point entitlement unless meal and accommodation charges are claimed

Car: travel to and from Ottawa under the 52 point system at 23.6¢ per km to maximum of cost of round trip air travel; travel within constituency also at 23.6¢ per km to established maximum (see above)

NFLD Established and reviewed by BOIE: maximum 12 trips per year by any mode of transportation

Specific Regulations:

Air: economy class; established 1 Jan. 1980

Bus or Boat: within allowance

Train: no train service

Car: tied to civil service rates—18.7¢ per km—effective 1 Jan. 1983; restricted to travel between constituency and capital—no allowance within constituency

P E I Established by statute: allowance restricted to car travel:

Members permitted 1 round trip and $10 meal allowance per sitting day + 3 round trips per month when House not sitting—tied to civil service rates—24.6¢ per km; restricted to travel between constituency and capital—no allowance within constituency

N S Established and reviewed by BOIE: maximum 52 trips per year by any mode of transportation—reimbursed on submission of receipts

Specific Regulations:

Air: economy class

Bus and Train: within allowance

Car: within allowance—25.2¢ per km; additional allowance of up to $1,660 for travel within constituency

N B Established 1972 by statute: maximum 25 trips per year by any mode of transportation while House not sitting; includes non-accountable expense allowance of $200 for each trip, plus travel expenses on submission of receipts; 1 return journey for each week or part of week while House in session

Specific Regulations:

Air: no requirement of economy class

Bus and Train: within allowance

Car: within allowance; tied to civil service rates—up to 7,000 kms at 23 1/2¢, 7,000—14,000 kms at 22¢, over 14,000 kms at 19 1/2¢; no travel allowance within constituency

QUE Established and reviewed by BOIE: first established 1969: maximum 52 trips per year by any mode of transportation, based on distance from capital to constituency—22.8¢ per km—includes accommodation expenses based on rates for civil servants; 10 additional trips may be obtained for Deputy Speaker, Opposition House Leader, Deputy House Leaders, Chief Government Whip, Chief Opposition Whip, Assistant Whips, Standing Committee Chairmen and Vice Chairmen, BOIE Members

Specific Regulations:

Air: economy class; additional allowance of between $2,100 and $11,300 per year for travel within Quebec but outside constituency, depending on classification of riding

Bus and Train: within allowance; reimbursed on submission of receipts

Car: unlimited to & from constituency—22.8¢ per km; additional allowance of between $2,100 & $11,300 per year for travel within constituency, depending

on classification of riding (excluding urban Members)

ONT Established and reviewed by BOIE; by any mode of transportation; unlimited travel for Opposition Leaders within province on legislative business; plus maximum of 12 round trips for spouse or family member by air, bus or train

Specific Regulations:

Air: maximum 52 trips per year for Members; up to 12 trips for business travel around province; special unlimited travel allowance for 4 Northern Members, subject to approval of Speaker; economy class

Bus and Train: unlimited travel for Member

Car: unlimited both to and from capital and within constituency; 26¢ per km for Southern Members and 27¢ for Northern Members

MAN Established by statute: by any mode of transportation—overall travel entitlement based on value of 40 round trips per session between capital and constituency based on km rates payable to civil servants; includes travel within constituency

Specific Regulations:

Air: within allowance

Bus and Train: within allowance

Car: within allowance

SASK Established by statute: by any mode of transportation—travel allowance based on formula: 35 x distance between largest centre in constituency and capital + *10,000 kms x civil service kilometric rate (*if constituency is greater than 2,000 square kms then increased to 30,000 kms)—not available to Cabinet Ministers, Speaker or Opposition Leader

Specific Regulations:

Air: special allowance for Northern Members—2 return trips per year by air from Member's residence to areas in constituency that can be reached by air

Bus: within allowance; bus passes issued

Train: within allowance

Car: within allowance

ALTA Established and reviewed by BOIE; by any mode of transportation

Specific Regulations:

Air: unlimited travel; economy class; airline credit card issued

Bus: unlimited bus travel; bus passes issued

Train: no train travel

Car: maximum 52 trips between Member's residence or place of business or employment and capital, plus up to 15,000 kms per year of general travel within the province

B C Established by Speaker in 1978: by any mode of transportation—maximum 38 trips per year between constituency and capital; spouse may use any number—dependents may use up to 6 of 38—constituency secretary or assistant may use 1 of 38

Specific Regulations:

Air: economy class

Bus and Ferry: bus and ferry passes issued

Train: no train travel

Car: additional allowance of up to $1,648 per year for travel within constituency ($2,060 for remote or interior/coastal constituencies)

N.W.T. Established by statute

Specific Regulations:

Air: 3 trips per year within constituency by chartered aircraft or economy class; 5 trips to capital/nearest regional headquarters when House not sitting Member or designated person may take 1 economy round trip after 5 sitting days; 2 economy round trips after 20 sitting days; 3 economy round trips after 35 sitting days

Bus and Train: none

Car: up to 4,800 kms per year at 26¢ per km—includes to and from capital and and within constituency; tied to civil service rates

YUKON Established by statute; unlimited travel while House is sitting; up to 24 return trips when House not sitting—restricted to Private Members—Ministers whose constituencies are outside capital may claim 12 return trips to their constituencies for travel on business as an M.L.A.—to maximum of $2,200 per year

Specific Regulations:

Air: economy class

Bus and Train: none

Car: within allowance—26¢ per km—tied to civil service rate; no allowance for travel within constituency

Certain jurisdictions set annual limits on the number of round trips to be taken by Members: the range is from 52 trips per year (House of Commons, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario); to 40 (Manitoba); to 38 (B.C.); to 35 (Saskatchewan); to 12 (Newfoundland); to one trip by car on each sitting day (PEI). The province of PEI also added to the maximum of 1 round trip per sitting day, a $10 meal allowance. Car allowance in this island province was also increased to 24.6¢ from 23¢ per km.

In the House of Commons, the monetary range placed on travel within the constituency was altered from [$1,180 to $5,900] to [$1,225 to $6,125]. This was a 3.8% increase for the lower limit and one of 3.8% for the upper limit. The allocations were last reviewed by the BOIE in March of 1985. The province of Ontario increased its car allowance rates to 26¢ from 25¢ per km. for Southern Members and to 27¢ from 26¢ per km. for Northern Members. The rate of 27¢ is the highest in any of the Canadian jurisdictions. The additional car allowance in British Columbia which was at $1,650 per year for travel within the constituency in 1984 is now set at $1,648 with $2,060 being allowed for remote or interior/coastal ridings.

Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Newfoundland made no significant alterations to Members' travel allowance provisions during the past year. Nova Scotia raised its car allowance to 24.4¢ from 25.2¢ per km. and the additional allowance for travel within the constituency rose by 3.8%, from $1,600 to $1,660. In Quebec, the car allowance rate rose to 22.8¢ from 20¢ per km. In addition to the 52 trips per year based on distance from the constituency to the capital, an additional 10 such trips may now also be obtained for the Deputy Speaker, Opposition House Leader, Deputy House Leaders, Chief Government Whip, Chief Opposition Whip, Assistant Whips, Standing Committee Chairmen, Vice Chairmen and BOIE Members.

The regulations for air travel were augmented from [$1,400 to $10,900] to [$2,100 to $11,300]. This represented a 50% rise for the lower limit and one of 3.7% for the upper limit. The actual amount which is applied depends on the classification of the riding. In terms of car travel, the additional annual allowance for travel within the constituency which was identical to amount allowed for air travel, was increased by exactly the same amounts and corresponding percentages.

Severance Allowance

Since last year, no jurisdiction has established or altered the severance allowance provisions. The level of severance pay varies from 1/4 of the sessional indemnity in Nova Scotia; to 1/2 of the sessional indemnity in Ontario; to 1/2 of all the indemnities in the House of Commons; to a formula based on 2 times the monthly salary for each year of service in Quebec. In the House of Commons the severance allowance is not available to those Members who receive a pension for service as an M.P.

Pension Benefits

Compared with the numerical information presented in the 1984 edition of *Canadian Legislatures*, the House of Commons, Newfoundland, PEI, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and the Yukon remain virtually unchanged. With the advent of the Yukon Legislature Act in 1984 which provided for the retired Members of the Assembly, there was no jurisdiction remaining in Canada without pension legislation for its Members. The Yukon and Northwest Territories pension schemes are the only two regions with a non-contributory plan even though voluntary contributions are permitted in NWT.

The province of Quebec now has a dual Pension Benefits Plan known separately as the Old Pension Plan (O.P.P.) and the New Pension Plan (N.P.P.). For Members elected before 1983, the option of either the O.P.P. or the N.P.P. is available. Generally, the O.P.P. is chosen. If the Member was elected after January 1, 1983, then he/she has no choice but to accept the N.P.P.

Under the O.P.P., the contribution level is 10% of all indemnities (excluding the tax-free allowance) up to the amount of the personal exemption under the Quebec Pension Plan + 8.2% of the excess up to a level of maximum pensionable earnings under the Quebec Pension Plan + 10% of the remainder. There is no minimum age requirement and the minimum service requirement is 5 years during 2 legisla-

tures for Members elected prior to December 31, 1982. The pension is calculated by multiplying the actual contribution by the number of months as a Member. The maximum realization is 75%. The pension is indexed yearly on January 1st, according to the P.C.I.

Under the N.P.P., the contribution level is identical to that of the O.P.P. The minimum age is 60 with the option of a reduced pension at 55; the Member must draw a pension at 71 even if he/she is still a Member. The minimum service requirement is Members at 60 years of age with 5 years of contribution or years bought back. The pension calculation is 4% of all indemnities (excluding tax-free allowance) by the number of years as a Member. The maximum pension level and the indexing is identical to that under the O.P.P.

In addition to the spousal benefits as indicated for Saskatchewan, there is also the choice of 60% of the Member's pension. A minimum age has now been established in Alberta of 55 years with the possibility of an actuarially reduced pension before attaining that age. Alberta has also changed its method of pension calculation to [4% x Average of 3 Consecutive Years of Highest indemnity x Years of Service].

There have also been some amendments to the British Columbia Pension Program. The minimum service requirement is now 7 years or more than 2 general elections; the pension calculation now becomes [5% x Highest 4-year Average Legislative Allowance x Years of Contributory Service to a Maximum of 16 Years]; the maximum level has been removed and spousal benefits are now calculated on the same basis as the retirement pension.

The Northwest Territories also introduced an equation for calculating their pension which replaced the previous "highest 4 consecutive years average". The previous pension level which knew no maximum has also been capped at 35 years.

The jurisdictions of Newfoundland, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Yukon do not have pensions which are indexed to the Consumer Price Index. The Yukon and Newfoundland require statutory amendments to raise pensions; the Speaker may increase pensions in Ontario subject to BOIE approval; in Saskatchewan, any increase awarded to retired civil servants is accorded also to Members' pensions; in Alberta, the Cabinet may periodically authorize adjustments.

Pension to surviving spouses are in the range of 50% to 60% of the Member's pension although in the Yukon the surviving spouse receives 15% of the basic indemnity plus the tax-free allowance at the time of death, times (x) the number of years service. The jurisdictions of PEI, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and the Yukon do not provide for additional allowances for dependent children.

The province of Saskatchewan has a dual method for calculating the pension depending on whether the Member was elected before April 1, 1979 or after April 1, 1979.

Table 6 PENSION BENEFITS

	a. contribution level	*b. minimum age requirement*	*c. minimum service requirement*	*d. basis of pension calculation*	*e. maximum pension level*	*f. post-retirement adjustment*	*g. spousal benefit*
H of C	mandatory contribution of 11% of basic indemnity; optional contribution of 11% of any additional indemnities or salaries (excluding tax-free allowance), includes 1% contribution for supplementary benefits; contributions on basic indemnity cease when Member has earned full pensions (i.e. 15 years of pensionable service)	no minimum age	minimum of 6 years service	average of highest 6 consecutive years	75% of d.	indexed to rise in CPI—retired Members are not entitled to indexing until age 60—at age 60 retired Members receive benefit on a cumulative basis of all indexing awarded since date of their retirement	60% of Member's allowance, plus 10% for each dependent child (subject to specified maxima)
NFLD	7% of all indemnities and salaries (excluding tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by L.A.	age plus years of service = 60 (55 for Premier)					

c. minimum of 5 years service and 2 general elections
d. highest 3-year average as Member—if Member serves as Minister then 2 separate calculations (i.e. highest 3-year average as Member plus highest 3-year average as Minister)
e. 75% of d.
f. requires amendment to statute
g. greater of 60% of Member's allowance or 25% of last pensionable earnings as MPP, plus 1/6 of allowance for each dependent child—total spousal allowance may not exceed level of allowance Member was receiving at time of death

PEI

a. 6 1/2% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)—L.A. contributes 35.75% (5 x Member's contribution)
b. age 50
c. 2 general elections or minimum of 8 years elected service
d. average of last 5 years as Member—Minister's pension cannot exceed 50% of highest year salary
e. 75% of contributions
f. indexed to rise in CPI—8% per year maximum
g. 50% of Member's allowance—no allowance for dependent children

NS

a. 8% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by Government
b. age 55
c. minimum of 5 years service and 2 general elections
d. highest 5-year average
e. 75% of d.
f. indexed to rise in CPI
g. 50% of Member's allowance—no allowance for dependent children

NB

a. 9% of all indemnities (excluding tax-free allowance)—6% of Ministerial salary—contributions matched by L.A.
b. no minimum age
c. minimum of 10 sessions
d. highest 3-year average
e. cannot exceed sessional indemnity in effect at date of retirement—no maximum level on Ministerial portion, if applicable
f. indexed to rise in CPI—6% per year maximum
g. 50% of Member's allowance—no allowance for dependent children

QUE

Old pension plan—available to Members who were elected before 1983 (they may choose between Old and New plan—generally they choose Old)
a. 10% of all indemnities (excluding tax-free allowance) up to amount of personal exemption under Q.P.P. + 8.2% of excess up to level of maximum pensionable earnings under Q.P.P. + 10% of remainder
b. no minimum age
c. 5 years service during 2 legislatures for Members elected prior to December 31, 1982
d. actual contribution multiplied by the number of months as Member (from 46,875% to a maximum 75%)
e. see d.
f. indexed yearly on January 1, according to P.C.I.
g. Member may elect to replace pension with life annuity, with benefit passing to surviving spouse; election must be made before pension begins; can be either 100% or 50% of Member's entitlement, adjusted accordingly by actuarial analysis

New pension plan—available to Members elected since 1 Jan. 1983
a. same as a. above
b. minimum age 60; reduced pension at age 55; Member must draw pension at age 71 even if still a Member
c. Members at age 60 with 5 years of contribution or years bought back; reduce pension at age 55
d. 4% of all indemnities (excluding tax-free allowance) by the number of years as Member (70% of highest 3-year average)
e. see d.
f. same as f. above
g. same as g. above

ONT

a. 8 1/2% of all indemnities and salaries (excluding tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by L.A.
b. age plus years of service = 55
c. minimum of 5 years of service
d. highest 36 month average
e. 75% of d.
f. Speaker has statutory authority to adjust existing pensions, subject to BOIE approval
g. 60% of Member's allowance, plus 10% for each dependent child to maximum of 3 children

MAN

a. 7% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)
b. age plus years of service = 55
c. minimum of 8 years service or 3 legislatures
d. average annual indemnity for the last 5 years or if less than 5 years service for the years served as a Member
e. 70% of d.
f. indexed to yearly rise in CPI—no maximum
g. 60% of Member's monthly allowance—no allowance for dependent children

SASK

a. 9% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by Government—Government increases contribution as age of member increases (adds 2% if Member between 41-50—adds 4% if Member 51 and older)
b. age 55—option for reduced pension at age 50
c. 1 year minimum service
d. Plan 1: formula style plan for Members prior to April 1, 1979—monthly allowance based on earnings and years of service
Plan 2: money purchase plan for Members elected on or after April 1, 1979—purchased annuity based on contributions plus earnings of the pension plan
e. no maximum level
f. automatically increased by amount equal to any increase awarded to retired civil servants
g. Plan 1: 60% of Member's pension
Plan 2: guaranteed Life Annuity and/or postponed guaranteed Life Annuity based on amount of contributions plus earnings of the pension plan

ALTA

a. 7 1/2% of indemnities (including tax-free allowance)—Ministerial salaries included—contributions matched by L.A.
b. 55 years; actuarially reduced pension may be granted before
c. 5 pensionable years service
d. 4% x average of 3 consecutive years of highest indemnity x years of service
e. 20 years
f. Lieutenant Governor in Council may periodically authorize adjustments
g. benefits to dependent children if no surviving spouse

BC

a. 9% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by L.A.
b. minimum age 55 or age plus years of service = 60
c. 7 years or more than 2 general elections
d. 5% x highest 4-year average legislative allowance x years of contributory service to a maximum of 16 years
e. no maximum
f. indexed to rise in CPI
g. calculated on same basis as a retirement pension

NWT

a. fully funded by L.A. on behalf of Member—voluntary contribution permitted
b. age 55
c. minimum of 6 years service or life of 2 general elections
d. 2% x the best 4 years average earnings x the number of years service
e. 35 years
f. indexed to rise in benefit index under Supplementary Retirement Benefit Act of Canada
g. 60% of Member's allowance, plus 10% for each dependent child to maximum of 4 children

YUKON

a. no contribution by Member
b. age 55
c. 6 years
d. basic indemnity plus tax-free allowance level at time of leaving office—excluding any additional indemnities or Ministerial salaries
e. no maximum level
f. requires statutory amendment
g. lump sum payment equal to 15% of basic indemnity plus tax-free allowance in force at time of death, times number of years service

SUPPORT SERVICES FOR PRIVATE MEMBERS

The extent of support services provided by individual Legislatures to their Members depends on the nature of the role played by elected representatives in the particular jurisdiction. In the larger Houses, including the House of Commons, the role of elected Member is a full-time occupation, and Members are provided with a vast array of services to assist them in their duties. On the other hand, the job of an elected official in some of the smaller jurisdictions is not considered a year-round job, and the support structure does not need to be as elaborate and comprehensive in order for Members to perform effectively.

In this chapter the Editors have divided support services provided to Members into 6 categories: at the seat of government; in the constituency; to the party caucuses; research services; special allowances; and computerization.

Services at the Legislature

In looking at services provided to Members at the seat of government, 4 categories have been isolated: office entitlements; staff allocations; mailing privileges; and telephone service.

In the Yukon, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario, Quebec and the House of Commons, each elected Member is provided with a private office. The remaining jurisdictions have various arrangements where office space is shared.

Nova Scotia limits its Members to an annual postage allowance of $2,175 which has not been increased since 1984. Members of the New Brunswick Legislature must charge mailing costs against caucus funding entitlements and in Saskatchewan, a communications allowance is provided for the Members from which the postage charges must be met. Members in PEI are restricted in their mailing entitlements to the days when the House sits.

There are no longer any jurisdictions which place restrictions on long distance telephone calling by Members. Formerly, New Brunswick and the Yukon had placed limits on long distance telephone charges. New Brunswick had restricted calls to within the province and the Yukon put a ceiling on calls of $750 per year. Until 1984, Manitoba Members could only call long distance within their province. The Northwest Territories, however, limit long distance entitlements to the time during which the House is in session.

Credit cards are issued in Ottawa, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia (for use within the province) and the Yukon (Long Distance Calling Card). Up until last year, Yukon still did not issue cards. Newfoundland also provides for unlimited telex.

Members in the House of Commons, Quebec and Ontario are provided with a personal secretary or with sufficient funds to hire at least one assistant. In Ottawa, the total allowance for both the office in the capital and the constituency office rose by 3.0%, from $94,200 to $97,000. While there are no restrictions on the numbers of staff, the maximum salary for a staff member is $37,831, up 3.0% from $36,729. The annual sum for hiring personnel in Quebec increased by 3.8% from $72,000 to $74,700. In Ontario, the BOIE recently approved an annual global sum of $90,986 to each Member for purpose of hiring personnel. The additional staff can either work in the Member's legislative office or constituency office. The entitlement and staff salary range is also set by the BOIE.

In Newfoundland, there is 1 secretary for every 2 Members, in PEI the Government and

Opposition Caucuses each have 2 secretaries; the corresponding numbers are 3 and 2 in New Brunswick; and in Manitoba each caucus has 4 secretaries. In Saskatchewan, the Government caucus has 10 secretaries and the Opposition caucus has 3; in Alberta there is 1 secretary per 3 Government Members and 1 per Opposition Member.

The maximum salary levels for secretarial staff range from $15,780 in Newfoundland (no increase from last year); $24,200 in PEI (an increase of 16%); $20,194 in Nova Scotia (an increase of 4.0%); $21,944 in New Brunswick (an increase of 3.9%); $25,589 in Manitoba (no increase from last year); $21,420 in Saskatchewan (no increase from last year); $25,188 in Alberta (no increase from last year).

Salaries for research assistants range from maximums in PEI of $39,040 (an increase of 3.7%); $41,834 in New Brunswick (an increase of 5.4%); $40,404 in Saskatchewan (no increase from previous year).

Table 7 SUPPORT SERVICES AT LEGISLATURE

a. office; b. staff; c. office mail; d. telephone

H of C

a. 1 office per Member—space assigned by Party Whips in consultation with Sergeant-at-Arms; office supplies and equipment provided by H of C—includes word processor, up to 4 typewriters including two electronic memory typewriters and one self-correcting typewriter, photocopier, up to 2 television sets and dictating equipment—implementation of OASIS (Office Automation Services and Information Systems) for Members' Parliamentary and Constituency Offices (see Table 24)

b. total allowance of $97,000 for both Ottawa and constituency offices—maximum of $77,600 for Ottawa—no restriction on numbers of staff; maximum salary of $37,831 for any staff member—staff also receive annual vacation leave of either 4% or 6%, depending on length of service—staff are employees of Member—no union—Member's family cannot be hired; automatic telephone answering equipment or commercial typesetting service are charged to this allowance

c. unlimited volume—paid by H of C

d. paid by H of C—unlimited access to direct dial Government phone network (Canada and U.S.)—credit cards issued for use outside Ottawa-Hull in specific circumstances

NFLD

a. Premier, Ministers and Opposition Leader have separate offices—1 office for every 2 Private Members—space allocated by Speaker; supplies and equipment provided by Clerk's Office

b. 1 secretary for every 2 Members—BOIE establishes entitlement; salary range is $14,602 to $15,780 for Private Members and $18,817 to $25,539 for Ministers and Opposition Leader—salary rates tied to civil service; staff are employees of L.A.—no union

c. unlimited volume—restricted to legislative business

d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; unlimited telex; credit cards issued

PEI

a. block of offices supplied to each caucus—space allocated by BOIE; office supplies provided by caucus; equipment provided by L.A.

b. Government caucus has 2 secretaries—Opposition caucus has 2 secretaries and 1 researcher—entitlement established by BOIE; salary range for secretary is $15,070 to $24,200 and for researcher is $39,040—salary rate established by BOIE; staff are casual employees of L.A.—no union

c. only when House is sitting

d. unlimited regular and long distance paid by L.A.; no credit cards

NS

a. each caucus supplied with block of offices—space allocated by Speaker; supplies and equipment provided by L.A.

b. each caucus given funds for secretarial purposes—number of employees is up to caucus; salary range is $18,139 to $20,194—range tied to civil service; employees are hired for 4 year term by L.A.—no union

c. postage allowance of $2,175 per year per Member—paid by L.A.

d. unlimited regular and long distance paid by L.A.; no credit cards

NB
a. each caucus supplied with block of offices—space allocated by BOIE; supplies and equipment provided by Clerk's Office
b. each caucus has 4 employees (Government caucus—1 research officer, 3 secretaries; Opposition caucus—2 research officers, 2 secretaries); salary range for secretary is $15,626 to $21,944 and for research officer $21,008 to $39,702—entitlement and salary range established by BOIE; employees of L.A.—no union
c. charged to caucus allowances
d. unlimited regular and long distance within New Brunswick; credit cards issued

QUE
a. 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; furniture provided by Government department—supplies and equipment provided by L.A.
b. Member has annual sum of $74,700 for hiring personnel—funding level established by BOIE—at least 1/3 must be used for Legislative office and 1/3 for constituency office; employees of Member, not civil servants—salary range determined by Member—no union
c. unlimited volume—paid by Government
d. unlimited regular and long distance paid by Government; credit cards issued

ONT
a. 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; supplies and equipment provided by L.A.
b. Member has annual global sum of $90,986 for hiring personnel; no restriction on numbers of staff—salary range established by BOIE; employees of caucus—1 caucus is unionized
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued

MAN
a. each caucus supplied with block of offices—space allocated by Department of Government Services; Independent Members receive individual office; furniture and equipment provided by Government
b. 4 secretaries for each caucus; salary range is $17,059 to $25,589—entitlement and salary range established by BOIE; employees of L.A.—no union
c. unlimited volume—paid by Government; annual constituency householder mailing paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued

SASK
a. 1 office per Member—equipment and supplies provided by L.A.
b. Government caucus—4 research officers, 10 secretaries; Opposition caucus—2 research officers, 3 secretaries; Independent Member—1 part-time secretary; salary range for secretary is $17,988 to $21,420 and for research officer $23,028 to $40,404—entitlement and salary range established by L.A., employees of L.A.—no union
c. included in communications allowance, which is equal to 3 1st class letters x number of registered voters in Member's constituency
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; no credit cards

ALTA
a. 1 office per Member—space allocated by Executive Council; equipment and supplies provided by Clerk's Office
b. 1 secretary per 3 Government Members; 1 secretary per 1 Opposition Member—entitlement established by BOIE; salary range is $19,428 to $25,188—range tied to civil service; employees are civil servants but are hired only for the life of the parliament—no union
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued

BC
a. 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; furniture supplied by Government—supplies and equipment provided by Speaker's Office
b. each caucus provided with funds to hire secretarial and research staff; entitlement established by Speaker; number of employees and salary range established by caucus; employees of L.A.—no union
c. unlimited volume—paid by Government
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued for use within province

NWT
a. 1 office for 5 local Members; 1 office for out of town Members when in capital on business—space allocated by Speaker; equipment and supplies provided by L.A.
b. sessional staff supplied by L.A. as required—inter-session requirements

supplied by Clerk's Office; casual employees in civil service—some unionized, depending on status in civil service
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance during session—paid by L.A.; no credit cards

YUKON *a.* 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; equipment and supplies provided by Government (L.A. is part of Government)
b. staff supplied by Clerk's Office on request basis
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance; Long Distance Calling Card issued upon request

In the Constituency

As in 1984, the jurisdictions of PEI, Newfoundland, New Brunswick and the Yukon have no formal constituency office programs. In Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia, Members are provided with a global allowance for constituency office operations which ranges from $2,500 in Manitoba; to $6,240 in Nova Scotia; to $14,700 in Alberta and $25,200 in British Columbia. None of these amounts have increased from the previous year's figures.

In the House of Commons, a minimum of $19,400 (3.2% increase) is to be used for staff; a maximum of $97,000 (3.0% increase) may be used. A maximum of $11,100 (4.4% increase) may be designated for the operation of the office. To assist re-elected Members with the purchase of furniture and equipment $1,000 is allowed per parliament; newly elected Members are allowed $2,000 for the same purpose. The pay rates for staff are established by the Member to a maximum of $37,831 (an increase of 3.0%).

In Ontario, $12,230 (16.5% increase) may be used for office rental, postage and stationery. The BOIE has approved a global allowance to Members of $90,986 for hiring staff who are employees of caucus and are on the payroll of the Legislative Assembly Office. There is no restriction on numbers of staff and the Member establishes the pay rate.

In Saskatchewan there was no increase in the annual amount designated for staff which was constant at $10,998. The monthly amount set aside for office or staff was $829, an increase of 5.5% from $786. The amount for telephones was $1,328 annually which represented a rise of 13.8%.

With respect to the Northwest Territories, telephones, office supplies, advertising and furniture are supplied by the Legislative Assembly on a loan basis. The office rental arrangement must be approved by the BOIE. The services of stenographers/interpreters may be obtained as needed and a constituency assistant may be hired on a part-time basis with a maximum salary of $10,000 per year.

Owing to the different sizes and classifications of the many ridings in Quebec, allowances of between $10,900 (4.8% increase) and $13,500 (12.5% increase) are allowed to operate the office. The Member has an annual sum of $74,400 for hiring personnel, an amount which is 3.3% higher than last year.

Table 8 SUPPORT SERVICES IN CONSTITUENCY

a. general
b. categories of allowances;
c. staff
d. mail
e. telephone
f. administration

H of C *a.* annual allowance established by BOIE—first established 1973
b. minimum of $19,400 for staff (can use up to $97,000); up to $11,100 for operation of office; $1,000 per parliament to assist re-elected Members with purchase of furniture and equipment; newly elected Members have a $2,000 furniture and equipment allowance for their first Parliament—Members have the right to take over existing furniture and equipment from predecessor
c. MPs must use at least $19,400 of their $97,000 annual staff allowance to hire staff in constituency—staff are employees of Member—pay rate established by Member to maximum salary of $37,831; no restrictions on number of employees—payroll service provided by H of C
d. free mailing (franking) privileges—electronic mail service (OASIS)

e. calls within province where constituency located, to Ottawa/Hull and all federal government offices paid by H of C—collect calls and monthly equipment rental costs charged to office operations allowance—H of C pays for optional toll-free calling within Member's constituency

f. responsibility of House of Commons Administration Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity in the office, employment of parents, spouse or children of Member, use of Member's home; furniture and supplies provided by either H of C or local supplier, charged to operating budget

NFLD *a.* no program
b. c. d. e. f. N/A

PEI *a.* no program—Member may use office space on a weekly basis in any of 5 regional offices run by Department of Industry, free of charge
b. c. d. N/A
e. L.A. pays installation cost of a private phone line for all rural Members plus monthly charges equalized to the lowest rate in the province—established by BOIE
f. N/A

NS *a.* monthly allowance established by BOIE
b. $260 per month for services in constituency—up to $260 per month for actual expenses for office space, equipment and secretarial services, on submission of receipts
c. no specific allowance—staff are employees of Member—no restriction on numbers—paid on fee-for-service basis on submission of account
d. charged to office allowance
e. charged to office allowance
f. responsibility of Speaker's Office—no formal restrictions on use of office; furniture and equipment may be purchased or leased by Member and charged to office allowance

NB *a.* no program
b. c. d. e. f. N/A

QUE *a.* annual allowance established by BOIE
b. between $10,900 and $13,500 for office depending on classification of riding; actual operating expenses reimbursed on submission of receipts
c. Member has annual sum of $74,400 for hiring personnel—at least 1/3 must be used for Legislative office and 1/3 for constituency office; (an additional $8,100 for selected large ridings); funding level established by BOIE; employees of Member, not civil servants; salary range determined by Member—no union
d. paid by L.A. on submission of receipts—no maximum
e. regular and long distance costs paid by L.A. on submission of receipts—no maximum
f. responsibility of L.A. office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity, use of Member's home, use of office for campaign purposes; furniture and equipment may be rented by Member and charged to office allowance—Member may charge up to $1,000 per year for purchase of furniture or equipment

ONT a. annual allowance established by BOIE—first established 1976
b. up to $12,230 for office rental, postage and stationery
c. Member has annual global sum of $90,986 for hiring personnel; staff are employees of caucus—pay rate established by Member—no restriction on numbers—on payroll of L.A.
d. included in office allowance
e. regular and long distance costs paid by L.A.—no maximum—L.A. pays for toll-free calling within Member's constituency
f. responsibility of L.A. Administrative Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity, employment of spouse or children of Member, use of office for campaign purposes; furniture and equipment may be rented by Member and charged to office allowance—if purchased Member may depreciate cost at rate of 20% per year

MAN *a.* annual allowance established by statute
b. $2,500 global allowance—for rent, utilities, salaries, stationery, supplies and equipment—on submission of receipts
c. no specific allowance—included in global allowance

d. charged to global allowance
e. credit cards issued—paid by L.A.
f. responsibility of Speaker's Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity

SASK
a. annual and monthly allowance established by statute—first established 1979
b. $10,998 per year for staff—$829 per month for office or staff; $1,328 per year for telephone without receipts—unlimited telephone with receipts
c. $10,998 per year—staff are employees of Member—pay rate established by statute (1/2 of top range of Clerk/Steno 3)—Member may also use office allowance to hire staff—no restriction on numbers—on payroll of L.A.—receive benefits equivalent to civil servants
d. charged to communications allowance—equal to 3 x cost of 1st class letter x number of registered voters in Member's constituency
e. up to $1,328 per year without receipts; unlimited with receipts or credit card; monthly rental may be charged to either telephone allowance or office allowance
f. administered by Clerk's Office—no formal guidelines on use of office—furniture and equipment may be rented or bought by Member and charged to office allowance

ALTA
a. annual allowance established by BOIE—Speaker given authority to increase allowance—first established 1979
b. $14,700 for rent and staff
c. included in global allowance—staff are contract employees of L.A.—paid on fee-for-service basis—no restriction on numbers
d. charged to global allowance
e. charged to global allowance
f. responsibility of L.A. Administrative Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity, use of offices during election campaign period—typewriter, dictaphone, transcriber, xerox and telephone answering service provided by L.A.—furniture provided by Government department

BC
a. annual allowance established by Speaker—first established 1973
b. maximum global allowance of $25,200 for salaries, office rental and overhead, stationery and supplies and related expenses
c. included in global allowance—staff are employees of Member—pay rate established by Member—no restriction on numbers
d. charged to global allowance
e. charged to global allowance
f. budget and office guidelines established by Speaker—furniture and equipment may be rented or bought by Member and charged to global allowance

NWT
a. annual allowance established by statute—first established 1975
b. telephones, office supplies, advertising, furniture supplied by L.A. on loan basis; office rental arrangement must be approved by BOIE
c. stenographic/interpreters as needed; constituency assistant may be hired on part-time basis with a maximum salary of $10,000 per year
d. unlimited
e. telephone allowance of $1,500 per year for long distance—credit cards issued
f. responsibility of Speaker's Office

YUKON
a. no program
b. c. d. e. f. N/A

Caucus Services

British Columbia remains the only jurisdiction in which the Board of Internal Economy or its equivalent does not have jurisdiction over caucus funding allocations. Funding levels are established by the Speaker of the House. The province of PEI has a Standing Committee on Internal Economy which recommends funding decisions to the Government for final approval. In Saskatchewan most of these decisions are made by the BOIE while some others are actually set out in statutes. The Northwest Territories operate on the basis of consensus government and, therefore, there are no political parties and no party caucuses as such.

In the House of Commons the matters of recruitment, hiring, release and salary determination of employees are at the discretion of the Research Offices, Leader of the Opposition's Office or Opposition House Leader's Office. The benefits are similar to those for Members' employees, including pensions and

insurance. Following the September 1984 General Election, the total budgeted funds for research was set at $1,472,000. The Government research budget was determined by the BOIE and the remaining balance was allocated to the opposition based on the ratio of the party standings. The final determinations were: Government—$600,000; Opposition—$498,000; Third Party—$374,000. Specific allotments were also set for the Opposition Leaders, the Whip's Office, Opposition House Leaders and the Caucus Chairmen.

PEI awarded an additional employee per caucus during the session and also one summer student per caucus. Funding levels escalated also as the Government allocation rose by 230.8% from $13,000 to $43,000 and the Opposition allocation was augmented by 46.5% from $43,000 to $63,000.

There were increases in the funding levels for Members in Nova Scotia also. The per Member allowance was up by 9.1% to $6,000; the Government allocation increased by 25.7% to $186,000; a decrease of 15.1% placed the Opposition allocation at $75,000 from a previous $88,300. For operations allowance, Members' monthly allocation rose by 37.8% to $255; the Government allocation was set at $123,000 which represented a climb of 83.6% from the previous $67,000; the Opposition allocation experienced a decline of 28.8% to a level of $27,000. For the first time, funding for staff and operations was also accorded to the Third and Fourth Parties, although special allowances for Opposition Leaders were given only to the Leader of the Opposition and to the Leader of the Third Party.

New Brunswick experienced across-the-board increases in its funding levels for the caucuses. A rise of 6.6% placed the Government allocation at $113,860; at $113,860, the Opposition also had an increase of 6.6%, previously at $6,100; the Third Party's allocation rose by 145.9% to a new level of $15,000; the Opposition Leader's allocation was up by 7.8% to $206,734.

The total funding in Quebec for the caucuses was $534,500 in 1985—a climb of 3.7% from $515,200 in 1984. The division of this amount between the caucuses saw the Government receiving $284,800 (an increase of 3.8%) and the Opposition with the balance of $249,700 (an increase of 3.7%).

In Ontario, the composition of the new minority Government is reflected in the number of employees per caucus. The Government caucus has 88 which is up from a previous 73; the Opposition is up from 63 to 132; the Third Party which previously had 52 now has 60. Under the category of administrative funding, the Member's allowance is unchanged but the Liberal Caucus allowance is down by 57.8% to $338,100; the Opposition has seen a rise of 89.6% to $633,300; the Third Party has also seen an increased allocation from $241,500 to $293,100, a change of 21.4%. For 1985, the research and research support categories have been combined. The Member's allotment for research and research support is up to $18,000, a percentage climb of 2.1. Another provision here is that $5,513 per member may be transferred to the Member's support staff global allowance. Under the above category, the Government allocation in Ontario is $832,100, representing an increase of 12.7%; with a growth of 57.9% the Opposition allocation is set at $847,200; the Third Party at $529,600 indicates that their allotment has grown by 10%.

Funding for the Opposition Leaders in Ontario rose from $328,000 to $513,700 (56.6%) for the Official Opposition Leader and from $278,300 to $525,400 (88.8%) for the Leader of the Third Party. When the Liberal Government was sworn in in June, 1985, the NDP had been an Opposition Party longer than had the Progressive Conservative Party. Hence, the Opposition allowance for the NDP was greater than for the Official Opposition as reflected in these numbers. The Opposition House Leaders who were previously both given $42,900 saw their allotments go in opposite directions in 1985: Opposition decreased by 21.2% and Third Party increased by 3.3%.

Manitoba increased its Government allocation by 3.2% to $16,000 while the same allocation for the Opposition saw a decline of 4.3% to $11,000.

The province of Saskatchewan witnessed a rise in its administration amount per Member—from $3,938 to $4,154. The Government's allotment of $124,620 represented a 9.1% rise over 1984; Opposition and the Independents both experienced increases of 5.5% in their funding. Moneys for secretarial staff were up to $24,941 from $23,461. The Leader of the Oppo-

sition experienced a 5.5% rise in his funding.

In Alberta, the Independent Party is now called the Representative Party. Financial allocations were up for all caucuses in this province: Government by 4.2%; Opposition by 65% and the Representative Party by 4.2%.

British Columbia saw a per Member increase for staff and equipment from $26,040 to $27,345, an increase of 5.0%.

In the Yukon the assignment of employees to caucus has taken on a new perspective as the Government now has 1 full-time researcher; the Oppostion has 2 researchers and 1 secretary, all of which are full-time. Likewise, the Third Party receives 1 researcher and 1 secretary. Private Members with the Government receive $10,000 per year and Opposition Members receive $20,000 per year.

Table 9 CAUCUS SERVICES

a. funding mechanism
b. restrictions on use of funds
c. employees
d. funding levels

H of C

a. funding levels established by BOIE—first established in 1969 for caucus research; Opposition Leaders' offices equal to 200% of research office budget

b. funds are intended to cover the costs for staff salaries and contracts for temporary services

c. recruitment, hiring, release of employees and salary determination at discretion of the Research, Opposition Leader's or Opposition House Leader's office—benefits similar to Members' employees, including pensions and insurance—no union

d. (i) Research—total available funds $1,472,000—Government research budget determined by BOIE—balance budgeted to opposition in ratio of party standings (i.e. 40 to 30 or 4:3)

—Government	$ 600,000
—Opposition	$ 498,000
—Third Party	$ 374,000

(ii) Opposition Leaders

—Opposition	$1,020,500
— Third Party	$ 774,500

(iii) Whip's Office

—Government	$ 251,000
—Opposition	$ 134,000
—Third Party	$ 74,500

(iv) Opposition House Leaders

—Opposition	$ 61,000
—Third Party	$ 90,600

(v) Caucus Chairman

—Opposition	$ 24,800
—Third Party	$ 24,800

NFLD

a. funding levels established by BOIE—lump sum awarded to each caucus based on representations made by party representatives—first established in 1979 for Government Caucus and pre 1970 for Opposition Caucus

b. funds are used for operating expenses only

c. Government 11; Opposition 7—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by BOIE—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union

d. Government—$15,724; Opposition—$6,276

P E I

a. funding levels established by Government—based on recommendation of BOIE—first established in 1979 for Government Caucus and 1971 for Opposition Caucus

b. none

c. Government 2; Opposition 3—plus 1 during session and 1 summer student per caucus—employees of L.A.—hired on casual basis—pay rates established by BOIE—vacation and sickness benefits only—no pension—no union

d. Government—$43,000; Opposition $63,000

N S

a. funding levels established by BOIE—formula based on party standings—first established in 1973

b. funds cannot be transferred between categories

c. Government 6; Opposition 5; Third Party 2; Fourth Party 1—employees of L.A.—pay rates tied to civil service standards—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union

d. (i) staff—$6,000 per Member, excluding Ministers and Speaker (Government $186,000; Opposition $75,000; Third Party $23,000; Fourth Party $17,000)

(ii) operations—$255 per Member per month, excluding Speaker (Government $123,000; Opposition $27,000; Third Party $12,000; Fourth Party $9,000

(iii) Opposition Leaders—Opposition $284,600; Third Party $146,000

NB
a. funding levels established by BOIE—based on budgeted figures determined by Clerk of the House—first established in 1981
b. none
c. Government 4 (3 secretarial, 1 research); Opposition 4 (2 secretarial and 2 research)—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by BOIE—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union
d. Government $113,860; Opposition $113,860; Third Party $15,000; Opposition Leader receives additional $206,734 staff allowance

QUE
a. funding levels established by BOIE—BOIE establishes total allocation and party leaders negotiate the breakdown among caucuses—first established in 1974
b. none
c. number of employees unknown (fluctuates widely); employees of caucus—pay rates established by caucus—benefits established by BOIE, including pension—no union
d. $534,500 total divided between caucuses (Government $284,800; Opposition $249,700)

ONT
a. funding levels established by BOIE—formula based on party standings—first established in 1975
b. none—expenditures are monitored by L.A. Administrative staff and are subject to audit by Provincial Auditor
c. Government 88; Opposition 132; Third Party 60—employees of caucus—pay rates for secretaries established by BOIE—pay rates for other employees established by caucus—group insurance, hospital, dental & pension provided by L.A.—all other benefits provided by caucus—1 caucus unionized
d. (i) administrative
—$12,000 per Member excl. Ministers (Government $338,100, Opposition $633,300, Third Party $293,100)
(ii) research
—$18,000 per Member, 30 Member minimum for all recognized parties; additional $5,513 per Member may be transferred from caucus research to Member's support staff global allowance (Government $832,100, Opposition $847,200, Third Party $529,600)
(iii) Opposition Leaders
—Opposition $513,700, Third Party $525,400
(iv) Opposition House Leaders
—Opposition $44,300, Third Party $44,300

MAN
a. funding levels established by BOIE—formula based on party standings—first established pre 1970
b. all operating expenditures are processed by L.A. and are subject to audit by Provincial Auditor
c. Government 5; Opposition 5—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by BOIE—benefits similar to civil servants, including pension—no union
d. allowance for secretarial and research staff based on $500 per Member—in addition to operating budget provided for in *a.* (Government $16,000; Opposition $11,000; Speaker $500; Independents $1,000)

SASK
a. funding levels established by BOIE for research and by statute for secretarial assistance and operating expenses—formula based on party standings—L.A. supplies dictating equipment, copiers, telephones, stationery and supplies—first established 1976
b. funds for caucus research are separate from operational grants
c. number of employees unknown; research staff are employees of caucus—pay rates established by caucus—benefits provided by Government—no union; secretaries are employees of L.A., pay rates established by L.A.—benefits same as civil servants, including pension—no union
d. (i) administration
—$4,154 per Member, excluding Speaker, Ministers and Opposition Leader (Government $124,620; Opposition $29,078; Independent $4,154))
(ii) secretarial
—$24,941 per caucus plus 10 secretarial staff for Government, 3 for Opposition and 1 part-time for Third Party in salary range of $17,988 to $21,420

(iii) research
—Government $195,381; Opposition $83,247)
(iv) Opposition Leader
—$83,146

ALTA
a. funding levels established by BOIE—based on budget submissions prepared by each caucus—first established pre 1970
b. funds may not be transferred among caucuses
c. Government 20; Opposition 6; Representative Party 5—employees of L.A.—researchers hired on contract—secretaries hired for length of parliament—pay rates established by caucus—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union.
d. Government $918,751; Opposition $552,730; Representative Party $208,452; funds divided into 17 categories for each caucus—salaries—wages—contract staff—employee contributions—staff training—travel—advertising—car insurance—postage—rental of equipment—telephones—repair and maintenance—professional services—data services—hospitality—supplies—purchase of equipment

BC
a. funding levels established by Speaker—based on party standings—first established 1972
b. funds restricted to staff salaries, staff travel and new equipment purchases
c. Government 17; Opposition 27—employees of L.A.—pay rates and benefits established by caucus—no union
d. based on $27,345 per Member for staff and equipment; an additional 20 week sessional allowance for both caucuses; plus an additional staff allowance for Opposition Leader and Deputy Speaker and a staff travel allowance for caucuses (Government $395,000; Opposition $733,000; United Party $27,345)

NWT
a. Members do not belong to party caucuses—NWT operates on basis of consensus government
b. c. d. N/A.

YUKON
a. funding levels established by BOIE—based on party standings—first established 1978
b. funds are used for research and secretarial services
c. Government 1 full-time researcher; Opposition 2 full-time researchers, 1 full-time secretary, 2 part-time researchers; Third Party 1 full-time researcher, 1 full-time secretary—employees of caucus—pay rates and benefits established by caucus—no union
d. Government $10,000 per Private Member per year; Opposition $20,000 per Member per year—secretarial support services to Government Members provided by L.A.—each Opposition caucus has funds for secretary; operational expenses provided by L.A. free of charge

Research Services

There are still only 4 jurisdictions which provide funds to be used for personal research assistants for Members: House of Commons, Ontario, Quebec and Saskatchewan.

In the House of Commons, Members may, out of their overall staff budget, employ one Legislative Assistant up to a maximum of $37,831 which represents a 3.0% increase from 1984. Likewise, the maximums for a Special Assistant have risen by 3.0% to $30,746 and Member's Assistants and/or Constituency Assistants by 3.0% to $28,377. There is no limit set on the number of employees and their pay rates are set by the research office. The province of PEI augmented its caucus research allowance by 3.7% to $39,040. The annual staff allowance paid to Members in Quebec to hire research assistants grew by 3.8%, from $72,000 to $74,700. The 6 employees in Library research was raised to 8.

In the province of Ontario each Member can now hire a personal research assistant out of the annual global allowance of $90,986 which is allocated to him/her.

This has resulted in an increase in caucus research people: the Government had 7 and now has 15; the Opposition had 9 and now has 10; the Third party had 7 and now has 10. The employees engaged in Library research has gone up to 15 from 12 in 1984.

In the Northwest Territories the number of caucus researchers for the Private Members was raised from 1 to 2. In the Yukon the number of caucus researchers remains unchanged

for the Government but has been increased from 1 to 2 both for the full-time and the part-time positions in the Opposition. The Third Party has also been accorded 1 full-time research position.

In terms of the Library research services, the House of Commons, Quebec, Alberta and Ontario are the only jurisdictions with a separate department responsible for providing non-partisan research assistance to Members.

Table 10 RESEARCH SERVICES

a. personal research assistant; b. caucus research; c. Library research

H of C
- *a.* within limits of their overall staff budget, Members may employ one Legislative Assistant up to a maximum salary of $37,831, one Special Assistant up to $30,746, any number of Member's Assistants and/or Constituency Assistants up to $28,377—in addition, each staff person receives an allowance for vacation leave of either 4% or 6%, depending on length of service; employees of Member
- *b.* within limits of authorized budget—no limit on number of employees—employees of research office—pay rates established by research office—benefits similar to employees of Members of the House, including pensions—no union
- *c.* 84 employees—established pre 1970—employees of Library of Parliament—non-partisan research provided to Members, Senators, Ministers, Party Leaders, and Committees of the House and Senate

NFLD
- *a.* none
- *b.* 1 researcher per caucus—pay rate established by BOIE—present rate is $19,337—employees of L.A.—no union
- *c.* total staff of 3 who all assist with research—employees of L.A.—no formal restrictions on type of research—services provided to Members, Ministers and Party Leaders, not Committees

PEI
- *a.* none
- *b.* Government 0; Opposition 1—pay rate established by BOIE—present rate is $39,040—employee of L.A.—hired on casual basis—no union
- *c.* Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

NS
- *a.* none
- *b.* included in TABLE 16
- *c.* no separate research department in Legislative Library

NB
- *a.* none
- *b.* Government 1, Opposition 2—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by BOIE—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union
- *c.* no Legislative Library research

QUE
- *a.* Member may hire a personal research assistant out of annual sum of $74,700 staff allowance
- *b.* number of employees unknown (fluctuates widely)—pay rate established by Party Leader—employees of caucus—no union
- *c.* 8 employees—department established in 1971—employees are civil servants—research restricted to legislative business—non-partisan research provided to Members, Speaker, Ministers, Party Leaders and Committees

ONT
- *a.* Member may hire a personal research assistant out of annual sum of $90,986 staff allowance
- *b.* Government 15; Opposition 10; Third Party 10—pay rate established by caucus—employees of caucus—1 caucus is unionized
- *c.* 15 employees—department established in 1979—employees of L.A.—non-partisan research provided to Members, Ministers, Party Leaders and Committees

MAN
- *a.* none
- *b.* Government 1; Opposition 1—pay rate established by BOIE—employees of L.A.—no union
- *c.* Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

SASK
- *a.* Member may hire personal research assistant out of secretarial allowance or constituency office allowance—no restriction on numbers
- *b.* number of employees unknown—employees of caucus—pay rates established by caucus—benefits provided by caucus—no union
- *c.* no separate research department in Legislative Library

ALTA *a.* none
b. Government 8; Opposition 4; Representative Party 3—pay rates established by caucus—range is $1,400 to $2,875 per month—employees of L.A.—hired on contract basis—no union
c. 6 employees—employees of L.A.—nonpartisan research provided to Members, Ministers, Party Leaders, Committees and Officers of House

BC *a.* none
b. Government 3; Opposition 7—pay rates established by caucus—employees of L.A.—no union
c. no separate research department in Legislative Library

NWT *a.* none
b. 2 researchers—employed by L.A.—provide research assistance to Private Members and Standing Committees
c. Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

YUKON *a.* none
b. Government 1 full-time; Opposition 2 full-time, 2 part-time; Third Party 1 full-time—employees of caucus—pay rates and benefits established by caucus—no union (this is same staff referred to under Caucus Employees)
c. Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

Legislative Library

The Legislative Libraries in Newfoundland, PEI, Manitoba, NWT and the Yukon remain unchanged from 1984.

The House of Commons had a budgetary increase of 4.4%. Nova Scotia expanded its staff complement from 3 to 4 along with a budgetary hike of 7.7%, which saw their financial allocation reach $193,500. The province of Quebec saw decreases in its Legislative Library operations: the number of employees fell from 88 to 79 (decrease of 10.2%); the budget was lowered by 7.8% to $2,722,700; the number of employees in research, however, increased from 6 to 8.

Ontario experienced a growth of 3.7% in staff; a 1985 budget of $3,350,100 represented an increase of 9.8%; and the number of research employees went from 12 to 15. Saskatchewan saw only modest growth of 7.6% in its library employees when the staff increased from 13 to 14. Alberta had an increase in its budget from $1,073,517 to $1,082,958, a rise of 0.9%.

The two jurisdictions who could report substantial change were New Brunswick and British Columbia. In both cases the Legislative Libraries became part of the Legislative Assembly operations. In the former instance this meant that the number of employees became 7 and that a budgetary allocation of $252,000 was set. There is, however, no separate research department. In the latter instance the number of full-time employees increased from 30 to 31. The Legislative Library in British Columbia had previously been under the jurisdiction of the Speaker when the House was sitting and under the Provincial Secretary when the House was not sitting. The Library Budget which had previously been included in the budget of the Provincial Secretary was severed and set at $1,205,325. Like New Brunswick, British Columbia also has no separate research department.

Table 11 LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY

a. number of employees; b. 1985-86 budget; c. number of employees in research department

H of C *a.* 234 person years
b. $10,545,000
c. 84

NFLD *a.* 3
b. budget figure unavailable
c. no separate research department

PEI *a.* Legislative Library collection is maintained by Provincial Library Service which is part of Department of Education
b. N/A
c. no separate research department

NS *a.* 4
b. $193,500
c. no separate research department

NB *a.* 7
b. $252,000
c. no separate research department

QUE *a.* 79
b. $2,722,700
c. 8

ONT *a.* 84
b. $3,530,100
c. 15

MAN *a.* Legislative Library not part of L.A.
b. N/A
c. no separate research department

SASK *a.* 14
b. $563,390
c. no separate research department

ALTA *a.* 24
b. $1,082,958
c. 6

BC *a.* 30 full-time, 2 sessional
b. $1,205,325
c. no separate research department

NWT *a.* none
b. N/A
c. N/A

YUKON *a.* none
b. N/A
c. N/A

Special Allowances for Members

Both Manitoba and Alberta allow their elected Members some discretion regarding the spending of a portion of their monetary allocations. This discretion is bounded only in that the Members must choose their priority from certain prescribed areas.

In Manitoba, the amount of such funding totals $2,500 and is allocated to constituency expenses only. The different types of valid expenses range from rental costs to staff salaries; from meals and accommodation to purchase of books.

In Alberta there is a special allocation in 2 amounts. Firstly, an allowance equal to $0.74 x number of electors on most recent list for the Member's electoral division divided by 1.5, which is to be used for communications between the Member and his constituents. Secondly, there is the figure of $2,100 to be used to pay for pins, flags and other tokens. Of these two allotments, a Member may direct the Clerk to transfer all or part of the amount of an allowance to another of the allowances.

Table 12 JURISDICTIONS WHICH HAVE SPECIAL ALLOWANCES FOR MEMBERS WHICH MAY BE USED IN A VARIETY OF WAYS ACCORDING TO THE PRIORITIES OF THE MEMBER:

MANITOBA	The annual constituency allowance of $2,500 for expenses incurred by a Member in serving residents of the constituency may be used for a variety of expenses including: office rental, utilities, maintenance, salaries for staff, printing, telephone, transportation, meals and accommodation, office equipment and furniture, stationery and office supplies, and purchase of publications and books.
ALBERTA	Communication Allowance equal to $0.74 x number of electors in the most recent list of electors compiled for the Member's electoral division divided by 1.5. This allowance is used to pay expenses related generally to the communication between the Member and his constituents. Promotional allowance of not more than $2,100 to be used to pay for the purchase of pins, flags and other things suitable as tokens for the Members' constituents and others. A member may direct the Clerk to transfer all or part of the amount of an allowance (constituency office, communication or promotional) to one of the other allowances.

Computerization of Members' Offices

The 4 provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, PEI and British Columbia have no present plans to computerize their Members' offices. Quebec is studying the subject; the Government Caucus in New Brunswick has one word processor; the Third Party Leader's Office in the Yukon has one word processor and the Opposition Leader's Office plans to purchase one word processing unit.

The Caucus Offices and Clerk's Office in Manitoba use word processors and Hansard is now available on display terminals through a program initiated by the Legislative Assembly. In Saskatchewan, the Clerk's Office, Legislative Library, Journals, Hansard and Accounts are computerized; each Caucus has its own word processing equipment paid for from Caucus funds.

Recently in Alberta, word processing equipment was put into Private Members' Offices at the Legislature; and the position of Systems Manager was created.

The Northwest Territories have made microcomputers available to Members on a loan basis for use in their Constituency Offices and the Clerk's Office uses them in daily operations. A network system is planned which would consist of an inner-office connection between the Clerk's Office and the Constituency Office.

The eventual implementation during 1986 of the Members' Office/Automation Networking System in Ontario will provide a complete range of word and data processing services, including electronic mail and interfacing with Hansard, House business papers and Bills for the Members, caucus offices and offices within the Legislative Assembly. An extension to constituency offices is contemplated.

The House of Commons has implemented the Office Service and Information Systems Project (OASIS) which provides Members with a broad spectrum of services. Members' offices, which have word processing equipment, are linked via a communications network within Parliament Hill; Members have access to video services in their offices; House proceedings are broadcast live in both official languages; and committee meeting schedules are available on the video service. Also available are daily summaries of National TV news broadcasts, live press conferences from the National Press Theatre; flight information from Ottawa International Airport; C-SPAN satellite service which provides coverage of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate; electronic mail service; and access to a range of other electronic data bases.

Table 13 COMPUTERIZATION OF MEMBERS' OFFICES

H of C	Implemenation of the Office Service and Information Systems Project (OASIS), providing Members with services such as: – a communications network linking all buildings in the Parliament Hill complex and connecting all Members' offices – Demand Video service which televises to the Member's office, on request, any selection from the House proceedings of 1977 to the present, as well as many public affairs programs – live House proceedings, TV Broadcast in French, English or "floor sound" – TV listings of up-to-the-moment committee meeting schedules – daily synopsis of national TV news broadcasts (Videoquorum), training programs and orientation sessions for Members and staff, live press conferences from National Press Theatre, flight information from Ottawa International Airport (scheduled for late 1985) – live coverage of Vancouver, Edmonton and Hamilton satellite stations and of Atlantic Satellite network – coverage of proceedings of U.S. House of Representatives and Senate via C-SPAN satellite service – electronic mail service for use between Members, Constituency Offices and other users in Canada or around the world – access to electronic data bases from Library of Parliament, party research offices, government departments and other commercial information sources in North America – OASIS improves House services such as Committee and Hansard reporting, production and printing processes, and access to a computerized data base of procedural reference material
NB	Government Caucus—presently using one word processor
QUE	Studies are being made
ONT	Implementation of the Members' Office Automation/ Networking System in all Members' offices, caucus offices and offices and departments of the Assembly.

System provides word processing; electronic mail; a customized correspondence management system for Members; data processing; interface to Hansard, House business papers and Bill; interface to external data bases; eventual extension to constituency offices

MAN Caucus offices and the Clerk's Office use word processing equipment. Hansard is now available on display terminals in less than 24 hours through a program recently implemented by the Legislative Assembly and the Manitoba Data Services, a Crown Corporation.

SASK Department of Legislation—including Office of Clerk, Legislative Library, Journals, Hansard and Accounts - is all computerized—have our own printers and typesetting equipment. Each caucus has installed its own word processsing equipment—paid for out of own funds—there are no plans to centralize all word processors or computers within the Legislature.

ALTA Word processing system recently put in place in private Members' offices in Legislature. System Manager position in Clerk's office to coordinate and supervise daily operations and to develop and administer programs to meet the needs of the Members and their staff.

NWT The Legislative Assembly has a number of micro-computers available to Members on a loan basis, to be used in their constituency offices as the need arises. Also, the Clerk's Office is presently implementing the use of micro-computers in its daily operations. Some of the applications will be for research support services; finance/administration support services. As familiarity grows with the use of micro-computers, it is planned that a network system be set-up vis-a-vis inter-office, Clerk's office to Constituency office.

YUKON The Opposition Leader's Office will purchase one word processor. The Third Party Leader's Office has one word processor.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

Legislative Budgets

During the 1985-86 fiscal year the budgets for legislative operations in the House of Commons and the 12 provincial and territorial Assemblies will total approximately $325,696,000, an increase of 9.7% over the approximate figure for the 1984-85 fiscal year.

Percentage increases among the individual legislatures ranged from a low of 0 in Nova Scotia to a high of 41% in the Yukon and 42.1% in Ontario. This unusually large upsurge in the Yukon is perhaps one of the results of the very recent general election in that jurisdiction. Ontario also registered a sizable increase in its legislative budget as a result of the expansion in services to Members and the Members office automation project which has been undertaken.

It should be noted that with respect to the province of Quebec, there is a noticeable difference between the 1984-85 figure which appears here and the one mentioned in the 1984 Study. The number which appeared in the 1984 Study ($86,000,000) included the Provincial Auditor's Office, the Ombudsman's Office and the Election Office. The amount of $50,555,400 reflects the actual budget for the National Assembly. The Editors feel it is important to offer this clarification.

The cost of running the House of Commons for 1985 was $163,398,000; this represents 50.2% of the total expenditures by all legislative bodies which is an increase from 46.6% in 1984. The provinces of Ontario and Quebec represent 31.6% of the total expenditures. Newfoundland, PEI, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick represent 5.3% of the total; Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia comprise 11.1% of total legislative expenditures; NWT and the Yukon represent 1.8%.

Table 14 LEGISLATIVE BUDGETS

	a. 1985-1986 *b. 1984-1985* *c. % increase*		
H OF C	*a.* $163,398,000 *b.* $155,090,000 *c.* 5.4%	MAN	*a.* $ 4,427,900 *b.* $ 4,341,500 *c.* 2.0%
NFLD	*a.* $ 6,327,500 *b.* $ 6,327,500 *c.* 0%	SASK	*a.* $ 9,039,970 * *b.* $ 8,342,530 *c.* 8.4%
P E I	*a.* $ 1,317,500 *b.* $ 1,166,700 *c.* 12.92%	ALTA	*a.* $12,289,268 *b.* $12,035,968 *c.* 2.1%
N S	*a.* $ 4,542,000 *b.* $ 4,542,000 *c.* 0%	B C	*a.* $10,458,961 ** *b.* $ 7,616,302 *c.* 37.32%
N B	*a.* $ 5,139,000 *b.* $ 5,123,400 *c.* 0.3%	N W T	*a.* $ 4,240,000 *b.* $ 3,818,000 *c.* 11.05%
QUE	*a.* $56,902,400 *b.* $50,555,400 *c.* 12.6%	YUKON	*a.* $ 1,750,000 *b.* $ 1,241,000 *c.* 41%
ONT	*a.* $52,281,100 *b.* $36,782,600 *c.* 42.1%		

* Included in this figure is Legislative Security Branch which was formed in October increasing the budgeted amount by $156,250 and Guide Services by $50,500 for a total of $206,750

** Included in this figure are Legislative Library and Parliament Buildings Security which did not come under the Speaker's jurisdiction last year

Table 15 RANKING OF LEGISLATIVE BUDGETS

Jurisdiction	*1985-86*	*1984-85*
H of C	$163,398,000	$155,090,000
QUE	56,902,400	50,555,400
ONT	52,281,100	36,782,600
ALTA	12,289,268	12,035,968
BC	10,458,961	7,616,302
SASK	9,039,970	8,342,530
NFLD	6,327,500	6,327,500
NB	5,139,000	5,123,400
NS	4,542,000	4,542,000
MAN	4,427,900	4,341,500
NWT	4,240,000	3,818,000
YUKON	1,750,000	1,241,000
PEI	1,317,500	1,166,700

Employees of the Legislature

The province of Newfoundland and the territory of the Yukon experienced no change in their number of employees during the past year.

In the House of Commons, the total staff level decreased by 0.6% from 1701 to 1691. The Clerk's Office experienced an increase of 6.2%; the Administration Office saw a hike of 36.2%; the Departments coming under the jurisdiction of the Sergeant-at-Arms incurred the largest share of the decrease—27.1%. The Hansard Reporting Service saw a staff increase of 3, from 195 to 198. The Budget for the House of Commons portion of the Parliamentary Relations Office rose by 3.8% to $2,203,000.

The province of PEI increased its total sessional staff and its Clerk's Office staff (all sessional) each by 2, going in each case from 17 to 19. Total sessional staff in Nova Scotia rose by 2 to a level of 40 and 1 full-time and 1 sessional person was added to the 2 full-time people in the Clerk's Office. In the Legislative Library, full-time staff increased by 1 and part-time staff fell by 1. The Hansard Office picked up 11 new seasonal employees.

New Brunswick's total full-time staff, rose by 14.0% while sessional staff fell by 14.7%; Clerk's Office staff rose by 9 employees; the Legislative Library which became part of the Legislative Assembly Office in 1985 was given an allotment of 9 employees; Hansard staff increased by 3.

In Quebec, after excluding the Provincial Auditor's Office, the Ombudsman's Office and the Election Office, there appears to be no change in the total full-time staff, but the total sessional staff increased by 6.7% (from 120 to 128). The Clerk's Office saw an increase of 2 full-time and 2 sessional staff; in the Administration Office the full-time employees climbed by 19.5% as sessional employees fell by 19.6%; the Legislative Library full-time declined by 7.4% and sessional staff declined by 3; Hansard staff decreased by 14.6% for full-time and sessional staff decreased by 3; Parliamentary Relations Office rose by 1 for full-time and sessional, and the budget rose by 25.4% to $908,400.

The province of Ontario increased its total full-time employees by 6; the Clerk's Office decreased by 1 and the Committees Branch rose by 2; the Administrative Office employees were increased by 5 (14.7%); Parliamentary Relations Office increased by 2 and their budget received a 4.6% hike.

Looking at Manitoba, total full-time employees rose by 2; Clerk's Office by 1; a Parliamentary Relations Office was established under the jurisdiction of the Speaker's Office and the Clerk's Office.

The neighbouring province of Saskatchewan experienced a rise in its total full-time employees of 5 which included the position of Director of Security (this individual is also Sergeant-at-Arms); an increase of 2 in the Administration Office, including an increase of 2 in the caucus research office; the Hansard Office decreased its sessional staff by 10 (24.4%).

In Alberta, the total sessional employees rose by 5 and the sessional staff in the Hansard Office declined by 1.

In British Columbia, there were no increases in the number of employees at the Legislature. In the Clerk's Office, the 3 Table Officers are no longer retained only on an annual basis. The Speaker's Office, which performs the administrative functions for the Legislative Assembly, received 3 full-time employees as did the Comptroller's Office. The Legislative Library which now comes under the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly went from 30 to 31 full-time staff members.

The Northwest Territories experienced an increase of 3 persons in each of its total full-

time staff, total sessional staff and the Clerk's Office. With the increases the new levels were 16, 46 and 16 respectively.

Table 16 EMPLOYEES OF THE LEGISLATURE

a. total full time; b. total sessional; c. Clerk's Office; d. Administration Office; e. Legislative Library; f. Hansard Reporting Service; g. Parliamentary Relations Office; h. status of employees

H OF C
a. 1,691 person years
b. 0
c. 155 person years—includes Clerk Assistants, Clerks at the Table, Committees and Private Legislation, Table Research, Journals, Law Clerk and Parliamentary Counsel, Parliamentary Relations
d. 865 person years—includes Comptroller, Human Resources, Reporting and Distribution Services, Support and Information Services, Internal Audit, Purchasing and Materials Management; Restaurant and Cafeterias
(Sergeant-at-Arms heads a third branch with 671 person years—includes Security, Messengers, Cleaning, Maintenance, and other housekeeping services)
e. 234 person years
f. 198 person years (includes House and Committee Section)
g. 29 person years—20 of which are supplied by the House of Commons (9 by the Senate)—serves both H of C and Senate (Budget for H of C portion = $2,203,000)
h. employees of H of C—no union

NFLD
a. 39
b 6
c. 4
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. 3
f. 11 full-time
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

PEI
a. 1
b. 19
c. 19—all sessional
d. included in Clerk's office
e. Legislative Library collection is maintained by Provincial Library Service which is part of Department of Education
f. no Hansard
g. none
h. casual employees of L.A.—no union

NS
a. 18
b. 40
c. 2 full-time
d. 6—includes Personnel and Finance
e. 4 full-time, 1 part-time
f. 8 full-time, 11 seasonal
g. none
h. civil servants—no union

NB
a. 49
b. 29
c. 24 (inc. 8 Caucus staff, 9 translation staff)
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. 9
f. 18
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

QUE
a. 500 (excl. Prov Aud's Office, Ombudsman's Office & Election Office)
b. 128 (excl. Prov Aud's Office, Ombudsman's Office & Election Office)
c. 31 full-time, 7 sessional
d. 164 full-time, 41 sessional—includes Personnel, Finance, Purchasing, Accommodation and Restaurants
e. 75 full-time, 4 sessional
f. 70 full-time, 10 sessional
g. 9 full-time, 1 sessional ($908,400 budget)
h. civil servants—some employees unionized

ONT
a. 276
b. 12
c. 24 (10 in Committees Branch)
d. 39—includes Human Resources, Finance, Information Services and Director's Office
e. 81
f. 48
g. 12 ($407,400 budget)
c. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

MAN
a. 21
b. 33
c. 6
d. Personnel and Finance functions for L.A. are performed by Director of Administration of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs—Director has staff of

10 but they are not all associated with L.A.
e. Legislative Library not part of L.A.
f. 1 full-time—15 sessional
g. Speaker's Office and Clerk's Office carry out this function
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

SASK *a.* 43
b. 74
c. 4
d. 21 (inc. 6 caucus research staff)
e. 14 full-time
f. 1 full-time—31 sessional
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants

ALTA *a.* 80
b. 25
c. 14
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. 24
f. 8 full-time—13 sessional
g. none
h. civil servants—no union

B C *a.* 112
b. 53
c. 1 full-time secretary—1 sessional secretary—3 Table Officers
d. Administrative functions for L.A. performed by Speaker's Office; 3 full-time employees in Speaker's Office; 3 full-time employees in Comptroller's Office (Ministry of Provincial Secretary)
e. 30 full-time; 2 sessional
f. 10 full-time—9 sessional
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—except Library employees who are public servants

N W T *a.* 16
b. 46
c. 16
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. no Legislative Library
f. 1 contract--13 sessional
g. 1 (budget figure unavailable)
h. civil servants—some employees unionized

YUKON *a.* 6
b. 1
c. 5 full-time—1 sessional
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. no Legislative Library
f. handled under contract
g. none
h. civil servants—one employee unionized

Financial Management of Legislature

The name of the body responsible for financial management of legislative administration functions varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. In some instances it is a Committee of the House, and in others a Board or Commission of Internal Economy. As in other years, in order to make it easier to read the various tables in this publication, the editors have used the acronym "BOIE" to refer to the management body in all jurisdictions.

British Columbia remains the only province without a formally constituted body to oversee the financial operations of the House. The B.C. Speaker retains this responsibility.

Since 1984 there has been one change in the name of the body charged with financial management responsibility: the House of Commons changed the name of its body from "Commissioners of Internal Economy" to "Board of Internal Economy".

The House of Commons also has some changes in the actual composition of its management body. Consisting formerly of the Speaker as Chairman and 4 Cabinet Ministers, a revision to The House of Commons Act (passed on June 27, 1985) has substantially increased the number of participants. It is now the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, two Members of the Privy Council, the Leader of the Opposition or his/her nominee and four other Members: 2 appointed by the Government Caucus and 2 appointed by the Opposition Caucuses (1 of whom is appointed by the Official Opposition). Proceedings of the Board for the preceding session are tabled in the House within 10 days of the start of each session; if the decisions relate to Committee budgets then they are tabled immediately. From an approximate previous number of 8 to 10 meetings a year, meetings are now held twice monthly.

Manitoba altered its number of meetings from 10 in 11 months to 6 per year. In Manitoba, the minutes of the meetings which were previously not published or available to the public, now become public when tabled in the House.

The composition of the Board in the Yukon includes the Speaker as Chairman, the Government Leader, the Opposition Leader and, new for 1985, the Government House Leader and the Third Party Leader.

Newfoundland and Nova Scotia are now the only jurisdictions to exclude from their BOIE representation from the Oppostion.

As of 1985, Manitoba allows Cabinet Ministers to serve on its Board. Quebec and Alberta do not permit Cabinet participation in their management bodies. Of the 13 jurisdictions, only Newfoundland, PEI, B.C. and the Yukon do not allow Private Members to sit on their management bodies. Of these 4, B.C. does not have a legislative board or commission and management control is exercised by the Speaker; PEI has a Standing Committee on Internal Economy; New Brunswick and Alberta also have Committees: the Legislative Administrative Committee in the former and the Select Standing Committee on Members' Services in the latter.

The provinces of Manitoba and Quebec are the only provinces which provide remuneration for Members of the BOIE.

Table 17 BODY RESPONSIBLE FOR FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF HOUSE

H of C	Board of Internal Economy
NFLD	Internal Economy Commission
P E I	Standing Committee on Internal Economy
N S	Legislative Internal Economy Board
N B	Legislative Administrative Committee
Que	Office of the National Assembly
Ont	Board of Internal Economy
Man	Legislative Assembly Management Commission
SASK	Board of Internal Economy
Alta	Select Standing Committee on Members' Services
B C	Speaker
N W T	Management and Services Board
YUKON	Board of Internal Economy

Table 18 FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF LEGISLATURE

a. composition of management body
b. reporting relationship
c. average number of meetings per year
d. minutes of meetings
e. powers and duties of management body
f. Estimates reviewed by management body

H of C
a. by revision of The House of Commons Act (passed June 27, 1985), the Board consists of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, two members of the Queen's Privy Council, the Leader of the Opposition or his/her nominee and four other Members of whom two are appointed by the House of Commons caucus of the Government party and two are appointed by the House of Commons caucuses of the parties in opposition, one of whom is appointed by the Official Opposition
b. proceedings for preceding session are tabled in the House within 10 days of the start of each session—decisions related to Committee budgets are tabled immediately
c. twice monthly—first and third Wednesday
d. become public when tabled in House
e. outlined in statutes (House of Commons Act and Standing Orders of the House of Commons)
f. H of C Estimates and Committee budgets

NFLD
a. Speaker is Chairman, Deputy Speaker, 3 Ministers; no Opposition representation
b. BOIE does not report to House
c. 15 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A. Estimates—includes Ombudsman's Office

P E I
a. Speaker is Chairman, Opposition Leader, Government House Leader
b. Committee has authority to report to House
c. 6 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. not precisely defined
f. BOIE does not review any Estimates; Estimates of L.A. are devised by BOIE, reviewed by Treasury Board and approved by Cabinet

N S
a. Speaker is Chairman, 4 Ministers and 1 Private Member from Government; no Opposition representation
b. BOIE does not report to House
c. 8—10 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in statute
f. BOIE does not review any Estimates

NB
a. Speaker is Chairman, 2 Ministers, 2 Private Members from each of Government and Opposition
b. BOIE reports to House after each meeting—does not report when House not sitting
c. 10 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in Standing Rules of House
f. L.A. Estimates

QUE
a. Speaker is Chairman, 4 Private Members from Government, 3 Opposition Members—per diem allowance of $100
b. all decisions of BOIE are tabled in House
c. every two weeks since establishment
d. not published—available to public after tabling
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A. Estimates

ONT
a. Speaker is Chairman, 3 Ministers, 1 Private Member from each party
b. BOIE does not report to House
c. 14 meetings
d. published periodically—available to public within 48 hours of meeting
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A., Ombudsman, Provincial Auditor, Election Office, Election Finances Commission

MAN
a. Speaker is Chairperson, 4 Government Members (inc. Cabinet Ministers), 3 Opposition Members; per diem allowance of $50 for meetings when L.A. not sitting
b. BOIE reports to House—must report annually
c. 6 meetings
d. become public when tabled in House
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A., Election Office, Ombudsman, Provincial Auditor

SASK
a. Speaker is Chairman, 2 Ministers, 2 Private Members from each of Government and Official Opposition
b. BOIE has authority to report to House
c. 8 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A. Estimates, including Legislative Library

ALTA
a. Speaker is Chairman, 7 Private Members from Government, 2 Opposition Members
b. BOIE has authority to report to House—does so on ad hoc basis
c. 12 meetings
d. published and available to public
e. nowhere outlined
f. L.A. Estimates

BC
a. b. c. d. e. f. N/A

NWT
a. Speaker is Chairman, 2 Ministers, 2 Private Members, including Chairman of Standing Committee on Finance
b. BOIE has authority to report to House—does so on ad hoc basis
c. 8 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. terms of reference agreed to by BOIE
f. L.A. Estimates

YUKON
a. Speaker is Chairman, Government Leader, Opposition Leader, Third Party Leader, Government House Leader
b. BOIE has authority to report to House—does so on ad hoc basis
c. 4 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in resolution of House
f. L.A. Estimates

Legislative Assembly Estimates Review Procedure

There has been little change in the Estimates review process in the various jurisdictions since 1984. In the House of Commons, following the recent revision to The House of Commons Act, the Estimates are approved by the Speaker and the BOIE and are then delivered to the President of the Treasury Board (formerly they were delivered to the Minister of Finance) who tables them in the House as part of the Government Estimates. In the Northwest Territories, the Estimates are no longer prepared by the Clerk but rather, by the Finance Manager; once before the Committee of the Whole House, the Estimates are defended by the Speaker as Chairman of the BOIE.

The Estimates are sent to a Standing Com-

mittee in 6 jurisdictions and to the Committee of the Whole House in the remaining 7. At the Committee stage, they are defended by the Speaker in the House of Commons, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario (where Speaker is assisted by other Board Members), Northwest Territories and Saskatchewan; by the Minister of Finance in Newfoundland; by the Premier in PEI and New Brunswick; by the Provincial Secretary in BC; by the Government and Opposition Leaders in the Yukon; in Manitoba by a BOIE Member appointed by the Speaker and in Alberta by a BOIE Member other than the Speaker.

Table 19 LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ESTIMATES REVIEW PROCEDURE

H of C	prepared by H of C Administrative Staff—approved by Speaker and BOIE—delivered to President of Treasury Board (per September/85 revision to House of Commons Act)—included in Government Estimates and tabled in House by President of Treasury Board—referred to Standing Committee on Management and Members' Services—defended by Speaker
NFLD	prepared by Clerk and Speaker—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates and tabled in House—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Minister of Finance
PEI	prepared by Office of the Clerk—devised by BOIE and reviewed by Treasury Board—Estimates approved by Cabinet—tabled in House by Minister of Finance and Tourism—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Premier
NS	prepared by Director of Administration—approved by Management Board—tabled in House by Minister of Management Board—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Speaker
NB	prepared by Clerk's Office—approved by BOIE—delivered to Chairman of Board of Management for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Supply—defended by Premier
QUE	prepared by Administrative staff—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Speaker
ONT	prepared by Administrative staff—approved by BOIE—delivered to Treasurer for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Treasurer—referred to Standing Committee—defended by Speaker and other BOIE members
MAN	prepared by L.A. staff—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Standing Committee—defended by Member of BOIE designated by Speaker
SASK	prepared by Clerk's Office—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Standing Committee—defended by Speaker
ALTA	prepared by internal committee of department heads—submitted to Director of Administration and Clerk Assistant for co-ordination—approved by BOIE—tabled in House by Provincial Treasurer—Government and L.A. Estimates in separate documents—referred to Committee of Supply—defended by BOIE members other than Speaker
BC	prepared by Speaker—included in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Provincial Secretary
NWT	prepared by Manager, Finance—submitted by Clerk for approval by BOIE—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole—defended by Chairman of BOIE
YUKON	prepared by Clerk—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Government and Opposition Leaders

Hansard Reporting Service

Prince Edward Island remains the only jurisdiction in Canada with no Hansard coverage of legislative proceedings.

The House of Commons and the New Brunswick Assembly continue to be the only Houses providing bilingual Hansard coverage. Quebec, Saskatchewan and the federal House remain the only legislatures providing in-house video as well as printed Hansard. The Ontario Legislature is presently engaged in a test project with televised gavel-to-gavel coverage of proceedings in its Legislative Chamber. A permanent Electronic Hansard system is planned for the fall session of 1986.

The budgets for Hansard operations range from a low of $228,000 (for a 3 year contract) in the Yukon to $2,420,000 in Ontario, $3,260,000 in Quebec, and $6,984,000 in the House of Commons.

Compared with the numbers for 1984, funding for Hansard operations rose by 3.9% in Ontario; by 8.6% in Manitoba; by 88.6% in the Yukon. Funding declined by 4.5% in Ottawa; by 10.9% in Nova Scotia; by 5.0% in Quebec; by 9.9% in Saskatchewan; by 0.3% in Alberta; by 9.0% in British Columbia; by 28.8% in the Northwest Territories.

Table 20 HANSARD REPORTING SERVICE

a. budget
b. service

H of C
a. $6,672,000 (includes cost of printing)
b. bilingual service provided in-house—printed externally to the House by the Canadian Government Publishing Centre—final House copy produced in 24 hours—2-3 days for Committees

NFLD
a. unavailable
b. no bilingual service—printed by Government department—final House copy produced in 24 hours—3-4 days for Committees

P E I
a. no Hansard
b. proceedings are recorded on tape but only transcribed on request—Question Period is transcribed and printed in-house for next day delivery

N S
a. $246,000
b. no bilingual service—printed by Government department—final House copy produced by morning following debate—2 days for Committees

N B
a. integrated in Clerk's Office vote
b. bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—several months required to produce final copy for House and Committees

QUE
a. $3,110,200
b. no bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—final House and Committee copy produced in 48 hours

ONT
a. $2,513,700
b. no bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—final House copy produced in 48 hours—up to 10 days for Committees

MAN
a. $431,200
b. no bilingual service—typeset by commercial firm—printed by Queen's Printer—final House copy produced in 24 hours—2 days for Committees

SASK
a. $503,890
b. no bilingual service—typeset in-house—printed by commercial firm—final House and Committee copy produced in 24 hours

ALTA
a. $733,156
b. no bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—final House and Committee copy produced in 48 hours

B C
a. $816,181
b. no bilingual service—printed by Queen's Printer—final House copy produced in 36 hours—Committees not printed

N W T
a. $302,000
b. no bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—final House copy produced in 4 days

YUKON
a. $228,000 (for 3—year contract)
b. no bilingual service—transcribed and printed by commercial firm—final House copy produced in 48 hours—time to produce Committees is variable

Legislative Press Gallery

The House of Commons, Saskatchewan and Quebec are the only jurisdictions that provide in-house verbatim televised coverage of the entire proceedings of the House. With its test project presently under way in the Legislative Chamber, Ontario will soon join those 3 jurisdictions who provide in-house verbatim televised coverage. Manitoba provides gavel-to-gavel coverage of Question Period, which is distributed throughout the province by a commercial television network. Television access to the Legislature is restricted to ceremonial occasions in all jurisdictions except Ontario, Alberta and the Yukon. These three Houses permit accredited commercial television stations unlimited access to the Chamber.

A Legislative Assembly Press Gallery exists in all 13 jurisdictions.

Looking at the comparative statistics for 1984 the total number of Press Gallery Members increased by 11 in the Federal House; by 1 in New Brunswick; by 9 in British Columbia. There was a decline in Quebec of 2; and in Ontario of 6.

Table 21 LEGISLATIVE PRESS GALLERY

H of C	330 members	
	news agencies	80
	TV	103
	radio	60
	newspapers	67
	magazines	8
	freelance	12
NFLD	7 members	
	radio	3
	TV	2
	print	2
PEI	6—7 members	
	radio	2—3
	TV	2
	print	2
NS	21 members	
	radio	10
	TV	4
	print	7
NB	18 members	
	radio	7
	TV	5
	print	6
QUE	96 members	
	radio/TV	29
	print	27
	technicians	20
	cameras	5
	researchers	12
	producers	3
ONT	40 members	
	radio	11
	TV	6
	print	23
MAN	21 members	
	radio	6
	TV	4
	print	11
SASK	42 members	
	radio	11
	TV	8
	print	23
ALTA	25 members	
	radio	7
	TV	3
	print	15
BC	49 members	
	radio	15
	TV	10
	print	24
NWT	17 members	
	radio	9
	TV	2
	print	6
YUKON	5 members	
	radio	2
	TV	1
	print	2

HOUSE STATISTICS

Composition of the House

The statistics contained in the following chart reflect the composition of the House of Commons and the 12 provincial and territorial Legislatures as of December 3, 1985. They have been updated to include the results of general elections held this year in the Yukon, Ontario and Quebec, as well as recent by-elections in several jurisdictions: PEI, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

In British Columbia, while 1979 remains the last year that the legislative seats were redistributed, Bill 47, The Constitution Amendment Act, 1985, which received Royal Assent on February 21, 1985, allows for an increase in the membership of the Assembly from 57 seats to 69 seats effective on the day that the 33rd Legislative Assembly is dissolved. The average number of sitting days per year has decreased from 96 to 84.5, based on the last 4 sessions of the House.

Table 22 COMPOSITION OF HOUSE

a. number of seats in House
c. date of last redistribution of seats
b. distribution of Members
d. average number of sitting days per yr

H OF C	*a.* 282	
	b. Government	211
	Opposition	40
	3rd Party	30
	Independent	1
	c. 1976	
	d. 175 days	
NFLD	*a.* 52	
	b. Government	43
	Opposition	8
	3rd Party	1
	c. 1979	
	d. 97 days	
PEI	*a.* 32	
	b. Government	18
	Opposition	14
	c. 1962-63	
	d. 59	
NS	*a.* 52	
	b. Government	42
	Opposition	6
	3rd Party	3
	4th Party	1
	c. 1981	
	d. 82 days	
NB	*a.* 58	
	b. Government	37
	Opposition	19
	3rd Party	1
	Vacant	1
	c. 1974	
	d. 60 days	
QUE	*a.* 122	
	**b.* Government	99
	Opposition	23
	c. 1981	
	d. 90 days	

* preliminary results from the December 2 Quebec Election

ONT	*a.* 125	
	b. Government	51
	Opposition	48
	3rd Party	25
	Vacant	1
	c. 1975	
	d. 105	
MAN	*a.* 57	
	b. Government	31
	Opposition	22
	Independent	2
	Vacant	2
	c. 1980	
	d. 93 days	
SASK	*a.* 64	
	b. Government	54
	Opposition	8
	Independent	1
	Vacant	1
	c. 1980	
	d. 76 days	
ALTA	*a.* 79	
	b. Government	75
	Opposition	2
	Representative Party	2
	c. 1982	
	d. 80 days	
B C	*a.* 57	
	b. Government	34
	Opposition	22
	United Party	1
	c. 1979	
	d. 84 days	
N W T	*a.* 24	
	b. Consensus Government	
	c. 1983	
	d. 60 days	
YUKON	*a.* 16	
	b. Government	8
	Opposition	6
	Third Party	2
	c. 1978	
	d. 40 days	

Legislative Committees

While the overall change in standing committees from 1984 has not been substantial, there have been some alterations. In the House of Commons there are still 21 Standing Committees but the number which are Joint with the Senate rose from 2 to 4. Special Committees were struck following the 1984 Federal general election to study specific issues and to dissolve automatically upon the presentation of a report to the House or the end of a session. Similar committees were formed with the identical parameters to look at various items of legislation.

Standing Committees decreased from 11 to 9 in New Brunswick and from 4 to 3 in the Northwest Territories; however they increased in Ontario from 8 to 9; in Alberta from 7 to 8.

Select Committees decreased in Nova Scotia from 5 to 3 but increased from 1 to 4 in Ontario; from 1 to 2 in Alberta; from 0 to 1 in British Columbia. The British Columbia Special Committee was formed in order to select an Ombudsman for the province who was subsequently appointed on May 16, 1985. An Order-in-Council passed on July 25, 1985 allowed for Members of the B.C. Committee, including the Chairman, to receive $75 per day for each day's attendance on the Committee's business and for the Chairman to receive a salary of $1,000 for the year of 1985.

Table 23 LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

	a. number of Standing Committees
	b. number of Select Committees
	c. Committee budget approval mechanism
H of C	*a.* 21 (including 4 Joint with Senate)
	b. Special Committees appointed to study a specific issue, ceasing to exist upon presenting a final report to the House, or when the session ends—Legislative Committees established to examine and report on specific bills or items of legislation, ceasing to exist upon reporting to the House
	c. Individual Committees establish requirements; the Committee chairman presents the budget to the BOIE; BOIE approves budgets of committees; and the Speaker tables the approved budget in the House

NFLD *a.* 4
b. 3
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

PEI *a.* 9
b. 0
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required—method of distribution is determined by BOIE

NS *a.* 15
b. 3
c. Committee budgets are approved by Management Board

NB *a.* Provisional Standing Rules provides for 9 Standing Committees
b. 5
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

QUE *a.* 9
b. 0
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required

ONT *a.* 9
b. 4
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

MAN *a.* 11
b. 0
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required

SASK *a.* 10
b. 1
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

ALTA *a.* 8
b. 2
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

BC *a.* 9
b. 1
c. Committees do not have separate budgets—a global allocation for Committee expenses is included in L.A. Estimates

NWT *a.* 3
b. 1
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

YUKON *a.* 3
b. 0
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required

Government Business

The number of Government-sponsored statutes enacted in each jurisdiction during the past 5 years is listed in the following Table. The 1985 figures have been calculated as of October 31, and will likely increase before the year is over in jurisdictions that have not completed the annual session by the date of publication.

Table 24 GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

a. number of public bills passed 1985
b. number of public bills passed 1984
c. number of public bills passed 1983
d. number of public bills passed 1982
e. number of public bills passed 1981

H of C	*a.*	55
	b.	38
	c.	28
	d.	37
	e.	41
NFLD	*a.*	15
	b.	19
	c.	85
	d.	68
	e.	90

Table 24 GOVERNMENT BUSINESS CONTINUED

PEI	*a.*	48
	b.	37
	c.	46
	d.	36
	e.	40
NS	*a.*	43
	b.	67
	c.	67
	d.	93
	e.	69
NB	*a.*	84
	b.	74
	c.	104
	d.	79
	e.	90
QUE	*a.*	58
	b.	34
	c.	45
	d.	43
	e.	33
ONT	*a.*	7
	b.	53
	c.	89
	d.	62
	e.	74
MAN	*a.*	54
	b.	30
	c.	94
	d.	53
	e.	41
SASK	*a.*	113
	b.	93
	c.	102
	d.	58
	e.	113
ALTA	*a.*	71
	b.	55
	c.	90
	d.	41
	e.	97
BC	*a.*	63
	b.	28
	c.	30
	d.	78
	e.	30
NWT	*a.*	32
	b.	28
	c.	46
	d.	44
	e.	44
YUKON	*a.*	42
	b.	32
	c.	30
	d.	35
	e.	36

How Canada Votes

Trends in Party Control of Canada's Legislatures

BY FREDERIC L.R. JACKMAN, PH.D.[1]

This chapter presents data on how Canadians voted in the twelve political jurisdictions, (the ten provinces, plus the Yukon and the Federal Parliament)[2] during the period 1970–1985 and demonstrates voter preferences in different parts of Canada. No attempt is made to explain voting patterns, nor is there any attempt to relate these patterns to political issues or personalities. There is no attempt to relate the data to current public opinion polls. The data are presented as a matter of record. The results do, however, demonstrate regional and historical differences in the expression of political preferences. By restricting the presentation to only formal elections, the reader may view the broader shifts in Canada's political life.

Two analyses are presented. The first shows the current political position of each party in each legislature as of December 3, 1985; the second demonstrates the political control of Canada's legislatures over the 15 year period 1970–1985.

Canadian Legislatures as of December 3, 1985

Seldom do Canadians have the opportunity to assess the party representation in the twelve legislatures at the same time. Typically, elections in different jurisdictions are held in different months and in different years. Canada is unlike the United States which has fixed dates for its elections and fixed terms for each legislature.

The following presentation of election results is like a "snap-shot in time", a look at the party representation by region and in each legislature at the same moment (December 3, 1985). Furthermore, by grouping the legislatures into geographical regions, comparisons can be made as to how regions differ in their voting behaviour. Three regions were created: the West (Yukon, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba); Central (Ontario and Quebec); and the East (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland).

Table 1 shows the political control of Canada's legislatures as at December 3, 1985. The Progressive Conservative party predominated with the control of seven of twelve legislatures. (Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and the Federal), followed by the Liberals (Ontario and Quebec) and NDP (Yukon and Manitoba) with two each and the Social Credit (British Columbia) with one legislature. Majority governments exist in all legislatures except Ontario in which the Liberals have a minority government based upon a co-operative agreement with the NDP. In the Yukon, the NDP hold power but have the same number of seats as the Progressive Conservative and Liberal parties combined.

Strong regional differences exist in the political control of Canada's legislatures. In the East, Progressive Conservative governments were elected in all four provinces, whereas, in Central Canada the Liberal party came to power during 1985 in two provinces. Greater diversity exists in the West where three different political parties control the five legislatures.

[1] The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Andrea Azima, Margaret James and Muriel Pitt.

[2] The Northwest Territories are excluded because representatives are elected as independents.

Table 1 POLITICAL CONTROL OF CANADA'S LEGISLATURES BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGION AS AT DECEMBER 3, 1985

Region/Province	Government Party				Type of Government
	LIB	NDP	P.C.	S.C.	
WEST					
Yukon		X			•
British Columbia				X	Majority
Alberta			X		Majority
Saskatchewan			X		Majority
Manitoba		X			Majority
CENTRAL					
Ontario	X				Minority
Quebec	X				Majority
EAST					
New Brunswick			X		Majority
Nova Scotia			X		Majority
Prince Edward Island			X		Majority
Newfoundland			X		Majority
FEDERAL			X		Majority
TOTAL	2	2	7	1	

•While the NDP have formed a government, the composition of the Legislature is "sui generis" (in a class by itself) because the combined Opposition seats are identical to the number held by the Government.

Table 2 shows the proportion of seats held by each party for all legislatures combined. By adding all the seats that a particular political party holds in all legislatures, we obtain a relative picture of how the Canadian voting public has viewed that particular party. Furthermore, the number of party seats in each legislature shows the strength of the government and opposition parties in each legislature as well as the influence of each party in each region.

There are 996 electoral seats in Canada's twelve legislatures which are distributed approximately equally between the three regions and the federal government.

The West contains 273 seats or 27.41%, Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec) has 247 seats or 24.8%, the East elects 194 members or 19.48% and the federal parliament has 282 or 28.31%. The strength of party representation in each region is shown in Table 2.

In the West, the Progressive Conservative party predominates with over one-half of the seats. Progressive Conservatives won 156 seats or 57.14%, followed by the NDP with 73 or 26.74%; the Social Credit (in B.C.) with 34 or 12.46%; while the Liberal Party obtained 2 seats for .73%.

In Central Canada, Ontario (125 seats) and Quebec (122 seats), share the 247 seats almost equally. Of the Central region's 247 seats, the Liberal Party predominates with 147 seats or 59.52%; the Progressive Conservatives have 51 seats or 20.65% followed by the NDP with 25 seats or 10.12%, while the Parti Quebecois has 23 seats or 9.30%.

Canada's Eastern region contains 194 seats of which the Progressive Conservative party predominates with 133 seats or 68.56%; followed by the Liberal party with 54 seats or 27.84% and the NDP with 5 seats or 2.58%.

The Federal parliament is strongly con-

Table 2 PARTY REPRESENTATION IN CANADA'S LEGISLATURES BY REGION AND LEGISLATURE AS OF DECEMBER 3, 1985

Region/Prov.	LIB	NDP	PC	SC	IND	PQ	VAC	TOTAL	PERCENT
WEST									
Yukon	2	8	5	—	—	—	1	16	
B.C.	—	22	—	34	1	—	—	57	
Alberta	—	2	75	—	2	—	—	79	
Sask.	—	9	54	—	1	—	—	64	
Manitoba	—	32	22	—	2	—	1	57	
TOTAL	2	73	156	34	6	—	2	273	(27.41%)
% of WEST	.73	26.74	57.14	12.46	2.20	—	.73	100	
CENTRAL									
Ontario	48	25	51	—	—	—	1	125	
Quebec	99	—	—	—	—	23	—	122	
TOTAL	147	25	51	0	—	23	1	247	(24.80%)
% of CENTRAL	59.52	10.12	20.65	0	—	9.30	.41	100	
EAST									
N.B.	19	1	37	—	—	—	1	58	
N.S.	6	3	42	—	1	—	—	52	
P.E.I.	14	—	18	—	—	—	—	32	
NFLD	15	1	36	—	—	—	—	52	
TOTAL	54	5	133	0	1	—	1	194	(19.48%)
% of EAST	27.84	2.58	68.56	—	.51	—	.51	100	
FEDERAL	40	30	211	—	1	—	—	282	(28.31%)
% of FEDERAL	14.18	10.64	74.82	—	.36	—	—	100	
GRAND TOTAL	243	133	551	34	8	23	4	996	(100%)
% GRAND TOTAL	24.40	13.35	55.32	3.42	.80	2.31	.40	100	

trolled by the Progressive Conservative party with 211 seats or 74.82%. The Liberal party formed the opposition with 40 seats or 14.18% followed by the NDP with 30 seats or 10.64%. There is one independent (.36%).

By adding the federal to the regional seats, the respective grand totals and percentage control of all seats are as follows: Progressive Conservative 551 seats or 55.32%, Liberal 243 seats or 24.40%, NDP 133 seats or 13.35%, Social Credit 34 seats or 3.42%, Parti Quebecois 23 seats or 2.31%, independents 8 seats or .8% plus four vacancies (.4%).

To what extent are Canadian political parties represented nationally in each legislature? During 1984-85, the greatest representation is held by the Progressive Conservative and NDP parties which both hold seats in ten of twelve legislatures. The Liberal party has representation in eight of twelve legislatures. The Social Credit and the Parti Quebecois are each represented in one legislature.

Canadian Legislatures 1970–1985

Table 3 shows the change in political control of Canada's twelve legislatures over the 15 year period (1970 - 1985). The data portray the number of legislatures controlled by each party at each year's end.*

Over the 15 year period a dramatic change occurred in the control of Canadian legislatures.

At the end of 1970 the Liberal party controlled six of eleven legislatures (5 provinces and the federal), the Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties controlled two provincial legislatures each and the NDP controlled one. By 1975, the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties each held four legislatures, the NDP controlled two and the Social Credit one.

In 1976, the Parti Quebecois took control of the Quebec legislature for the first time in history replacing the Liberal Government.

During 1978, the Yukon elected Members based on political affiliation for the first time. The Progressive Conservative party won the 1978 election, the NDP formed the opposition, the Liberal party held no seats.

In 1979, the Progressive Conservative party won the federal legislature with a minority government. The Liberal loss of this legislature represented the first time in over 100 years that the Liberal party did not control at least one legislature.

At the same time, the Progressive Conservative federal win gave the Conservatives control of nine of the twelve legislatures - the most of any party over the 15 year period. Other legislatures in 1979 were controlled, with one each, by the NDP, Social Credit and Parti Quebecois.

As of December 3, 1985 the Progressive Conservative party controlled seven legislatures, the Liberal and NDP two each, while the Social Credit party controlled one. The swearing-in of a Liberal Government in Ontario is noteworthy in that it ended 42 years of Progressive Conservative control.

Over the 15 year span, the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties changed places as the predominant parties in Canadian political life. In the four-year period from 1975 to 1979 the difference in the number of legislatures controlled by these two parties increased from zero to nine. Since 1978, the Progressive Conservative party has controlled over one half of all Canadian legislatures.

The only political parties to be consistently represented over the 15 years by control of one or more legislatures have been the Progressive Conservative and NDP parties.

The Liberal party has controlled one or more legislatures except during a period around December 31, 1979 and again around December 31, 1984. The Social Credit party was not represented by control during a period between 1972 and 1974. The Parti Quebecois first formed a government in 1976 and held power until the 1985 election on December 2.

These data are presented graphically in Figure I.

Summary

The Progressive Conservative party (1984-85) is currently the most widely represented Canadian political party. The Progressive Conservative party controls seven of twelve legislatures with majorities and has representatives elected in all but two legislatures (British Columbia and Quebec). Overall, the Progressive Conservative party controls 55.32% of all Canadian legislature seats. Over the period 1970 - 1985, the Progressive Conservative party has been consistently represented by control of two or more (up to nine) Canadian legislatures.

In the last year, the Liberal party gained control of two legislatures (one by co-operative agreement), and has representatives elected in eight of twelve legislatures. Overall, the Liberal party controls 24.4% of all Canadian seats. During the past fifteen years, the Liberal party has been consistently represented by control of one or more (up to six) legislatures except at the end of 1979 and again at the end of 1984.

During 1985, the NDP party controls two of twelve legislatures with majorities and has representatives elected in ten of the twelve legislatures studied. Overall, the NDP controls 13.35% of all Canadian electoral seats. Over the past fifteen years, the NDP party has been

*For 1985, the year end data is December 3, 1985.

Table 3 PARTY CONTROL OF CANADA'S LEGISLATURES OVER 15 YEARS 1970–1985*

Number of Provincial Governments Controlled by Each Party Over 15 Years

Party	/70	/71	/72	/73	/74	/75	/76	/77	/78	/79	/80	/81	/82	/83	/84	/85
LIB	5	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
N.D.P.	1	2	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
P.C.	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	7	7	6	7	7	7	6
S.C.	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
OTHER	0	0	0	0	0	0	1PQ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—
TOTAL	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

Number of Territorial Governments Controlled by Each Party over 15 years (Yukon)

LIB									0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N.D.P.									0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
P.C.									1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
TOTAL									1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

The Yukon first held elections along party lines in 1978.

Political Control of the Federal Government Over 15 Years.

LIB	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
N.D.P.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
P.C.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
S.C.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Summary Provincial, Territorial, Federal Governments Over 15 Years

LIB	6	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	2
N.D.P.	1	2	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2
P.C.	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	7	9	8	7	8	8	9	7
S.C.	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
OTHER	0	0	0	0	0	0	1PQ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—
TOTAL	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

*Control of each legislature is at December 31 for each year except for 1985 when December 3 is used.

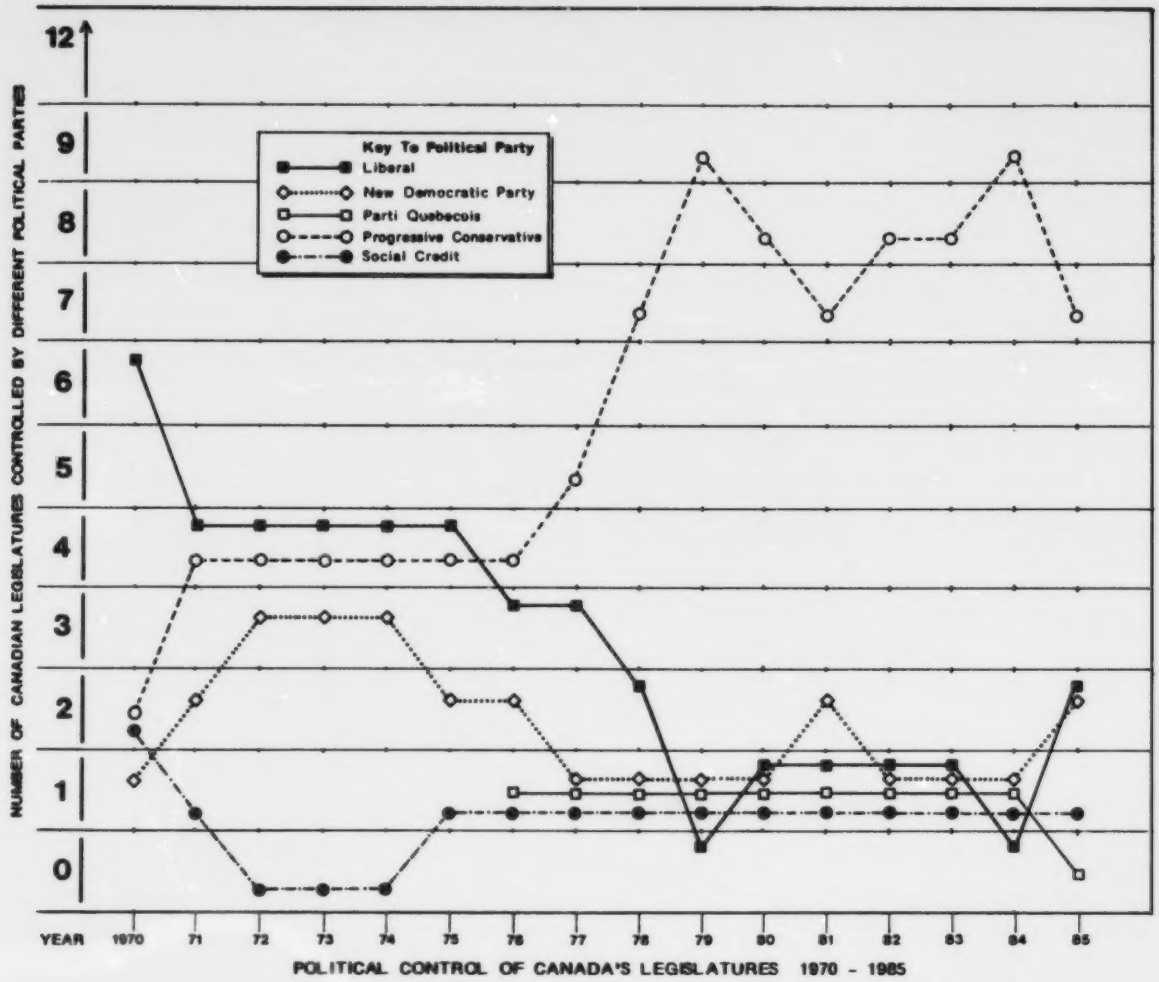

FIG. 1 Control of each legislature is at year's end, except for 1985 when December 3 is used. From 1970 - 1977 there were 11 party controlled legislatures (10 provinces and the federal). In 1978, the Yukon became party controlled to make 12 party controlled legislatures.

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consistently represented by control of one or more (up to three) Canadian legislatures.

The Social Credit party controls one legislature during 1985 and has continuously controlled one or two Western legislatures since 1970 except during 1972-1974. In 1985 the Social Credit party hold 3.42% of the total Canadian elected seats and is represented solely in British Columbia.

During 1985 the Parti Quebecois lost control of the Quebec legislature which it controlled since 1976. At the end of 1985 the Parti Quebecois holds 2.31% of the total Canadian elected seats.

Over the period 1970-1985 the major political trends and events effecting Canadian legislatures have been:

- —the extraordinary growth of Progressive Conservative controlled legislatures (1977-1985);
- —the appearance of the Parti Quebecois as a governing party (1976-1985);
- —the Liberal party's brief loss of every legislature (1979 and 1984) for the first time in over 100 years;
- —the 1978 Yukon election in which members were elected by political affiliation for the first time;
- —the defeat of the Progressive Conservative party in Ontario ending 42 years of control.

The 1985 election of Liberal governments in both Ontario and Quebec - Canada's most populated provinces - may indicate the beginning of a new trend.

It is hoped that the presentation of data regarding the political control of Canadian legislatures will encourage thoughtful appreciation of political trends influencing Canadian legislatures.

(Reprints of this chapter are available from the author or from Canadian Legislatures*).*

Dr. Jackman, who prepared this analysis for Canadian Legislatures, *has studied legislative institutions for many years. Enquiries concerning this Chapter, or reprints, may be obtained from F.L.R. (Eric) Jackman, Suite 200, 60 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario M5E 1H5.*

THE U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES

An Overview Of Members' Remuneration, Allowances & Services

If the constitutional responsibilities of Canadian provinces and state governments are compared, it is evident that the Canadian system places more power and responsibility in the hands of provincial parliaments. Canadian legislatures tend to be full-time legislatures whereas most U.S. state legislatures are basically part-time. There are nevertheless a great many similarities in terms of approaches to Members' remuneration, allowances and services.

Legislators' Salaries

Perhaps the best example of the part-time nature of most state legislatures is the salary paid to elected representatives. In 1984 there were only twelve legislatures who paid their Members more than $20,000 annually. In 1985 this figure had risen to fourteen. The State of Delaware joined the list, raising its legislators' salaries from $12,198 to $20,000; and Minnesota increased the pay of Members from $18,750 to $21,140.

In 1985, of the ten largest states in terms of population, Texas (3rd) paid its legislators well below the $20,000 level at $7,200; Florida (7th)—$18,000; and North Carolina (10th)—$10,908.

The states who pay their legislators the highest are not necessarily the largest in terms of population. In 1985, Alaska, one of the smallest states (500,000), paid its Members the most at $46,800; Massachusetts which was also not on the highest population list, paid its legislators $30,000; and Wisconsin, the other state not included, paid $27,202.

In 1985, New York paid its representatives $43,000, 23.35% over 1984, replacing Pennsylvania as the state paying the highest salary next to Alaska. Ohio, which was at the bottom of the list of ten in 1984, gave its legislators an increase in 1985 of 25.38% from $22,500 to $30,152, which raised Ohio to position 7.

Compensation for Legislative Leaders

Additional compensation paid to legislative leaders in the U.S. (Speaker, Majority Leader, Minority Leader, etc.) tends to vary widely. The highest paid is the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly at $35,000 in addition to the basic representatives' salary of $30,000. (In actual terms the Speaker of the New York State Assembly is the highest paid: Speaker's salary and representatives' salary = $30,000 + $43,000 = $73,000). From Massachussetts, additional compensation for the position of Speaker ranges downwards in other states to a low of $5 a day in Montana and Rhode Island, and $25 a year in New Hampshire.

In looking at the states as a whole, it appears that each state arrives at its own conclusions when attempting to assess proper compensation for legislative leaders. Louisiana for instance pays its Speaker $32,000 in addition to the $19,200 salary of a representative, while Illinois the 5th largest state in population pays $10,000 above the $32,500 Members' salary.

Per Diem Salaries

Several states pay a per diem salary to their representatives, in addition to the regular salary, however the majority do not. Alabama for instance pays $7,200 plus a $10 per diem. Idaho pays $30/day when the House is in session and $7 per calendar day when the House is prorogued.

There are a number of states who remunerate their legislators solely through per diem

Table 25 THE TEN STATES PAYING HIGHEST SALARIES

1984 Salary	*Ranking ($)*	*1985 Salary*	*Ranking ($)*	*Percentage Increase*
Alaska	46,800	Alaska	46,800	—
Penn	35,000	N.Y.	43,000	23.35%
Cal	33,732	Penn	35,000	—
Mich	33,200	Mich	34,860	4.7%
N.Y.	32,960	Cal	33,732	—
Mass	30,000	Ill	32,500	13.85%
Ill	28,000	Ohio	30,152	25.38%
N.J.	25,000	Mass	30,000	—
Wisconsin	22,632	Wisconsin	27,202	16.80%
Ohio	22,500	N.J.	25,000	—

salaries during regular sessions. Notable is Rhode Island at $5/day with a limit of $300 a year. The average for other states ranges from a low of $52 (Kansas) to a high of $104 (Nevada) which limits its legislators' salaries to $3,120 annually. Salaries of representatives appear to be very modest in states which use per diem salaries, either being limited by the number of days that the House sits or a dollar ceiling.

Allowances and Services

Most U.S. states provide living expenses to their legislators during sessions either as a per diem or in a few cases, a lump sum. The only exceptions appear to be Ohio, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New Mexico and Rhode Island which make no payments. Per diems in other states range from an unvouchered $85 in Alabama to $30 in Texas. Possibly the highest payment is in Michigan where representatives receive $6,700 vouchered annually. The Federal government has established per diem levels in most states for federal public servants. Some states such as Pennsylvania ($75/day) have adopted these levels as being the most straightforward approach. Massachusetts pays a per diem according to where the Member lives of $25/$45/$50 plus a flat amount of $2,400 annually.

A mileage allowance is provided to Members in most states ranging from a low of eight cents in Rhode Island to a high of thirty-five cents in Louisiana. In almost every state the mileage allowance may only be applied to one round trip per week between the home district and state capitol during regular sessions of the Assembly.

The ten states which remunerate their legislators the highest tend to provide the best level of Members' services in terms of staff, offices and equipment. California is the leader in the arrangements it makes for its legislators who each receive $196,193 annually for capitol and district office expenses.

Pennsylvania provides its Members with a $10,000 accountable expense account for "reimbursement of any appropriate expense directly incurred in the discharge of legislative duties". In addition, Pennsylvania legislators have a district office reimbursement account of up to $8,000, and a postage account of $1,000. A further district office reimbursement of up to $450/month can be obtained from funds controlled by the Clerk of the House.

New York representatives receive a basic staff allocation of $22,000/year in addition to having capitol and district offices. New Jersey Members are provided with a district office, furnishings, stationery, postage and telephone and an allowance of $30,000 for the hiring of personal staff.

For 1985, office expenses for Wisconsin senators was set at $21,606, however a similar amount has not been set for representatives who are still receiving $8,377 for each regular session, which includes $500 for telephone calls.

Illinois representatives receive an annual allowance of $27,000 for district offices. All

Members are provided with office space and secretarial services at Springfield, the capitol.

The smaller states provide very few office services for Members; what is provided is on a central, collective basis when the House is in session. In most states the Members home in the district still functions as an office. At the capitol, even if private offices are provided, staff are shared.

Oversight Committees

There are various types of elected bodies in each legislature which are responsible for overseeing Members' allowances and services. In the case of California it is the House Rules Committee; in Pennsylvania there is a Bipartisan Management Committee consisting of the Speaker, Majority Leader, Minority Leader, Majority Whip and Minority Whip; and Florida has a Joint Legislature Management Committee for administrative services.

Most of the larger states now have a non-partisan office of Legislative Services, or its equivalent, which carries out the policy decisions of the elected management committees. The New Jersey Office of Legislative Services, for instance, has a staff of about 270 who provide legal, fiscal, general research, bill drafting and audit services to the Legislature and its committees.

In some U.S. States, the matter of determining Members' pay and allowances is invested in the hands of committees of private citizens. One such state is Michigan where a seven member State Officers' Compensation Commission was created under the State Constitution of 1963. The Commission, which conducts public hearings in different regions of the State has the final say in determining emoluments for legislators. Their recommendations become law unless rejected by two-thirds of the Members of the House. Recently, the Commission declined to increase Michigan Members' expense allowances for Fiscal 1985/86 (which were previously set at $6,700) because "under the circumstances which exist, it is almost impossible to get a true feel for the appropriateness of the present limitations, let alone any increases".

At the state level there are a number of privately supported non-political organizations which monitor state governments and legislatures. The Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance which publishes *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* periodically reviews every aspect of the Wisconsin Legislature, including organization, legislators' profile, committees, operations, service agencies, staffing, compensation, allowances and Members' benefits. In Texas, the Governor's Commission for Women in co-operation with several corporate sponsors publishes a citizen handbook, *How the Texas Legislature Works*. Similarly in Louisiana the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc. produce a citizen guide to the Louisiana Legislature.

The question of part-time versus full-time legislatures continues to be a subject of active discussion in some U.S. States including those which pay their legislators more highly. Wisconsin (number 9 in the national ranking) is a case in point. *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* in its April, 1985 edition debated this issue:

> "Whether Wisconsin state legislators should be considered full-time and paid accordingly is a major issue. Increases in pay have allowed legislative salaries to become high enough to make it a full-time occcupation for some members.
>
> **"Arguments for full-time status.** The issues facing the state (Wisconsin) are so complex that a legislature serving on a full-time basis is necessary. A salary commensurate with full-time service assures that members of all segments of society can be elected, not just those who have sufficient wealth or who work in an occupation that lends itself to part-time work. A salary sufficient to compensate someone for full-time service will mean a higher calibre of people serving in the legislature.
>
> **"Arguments for part-time service.** A part-time legislature assures that elected officials will have more contact with their constituencies because they will spend more time in their districts. Because members of the legislature will be concerned about their regular jobs, decisions will be reached more quickly, and the sessions will not be as long. A part-time legislature would increase the number of people who have worked in other jobs before they serve in the legislature."

A Kaleidoscope of Members' Services from Alaska to Wyoming

The approaches which individual state Legislatures take towards the provision of salaries, allowances and services for their elected representatives covers a wide spectrum. Arrangements are seldom the same in any two states although almost every state provides its legislators with certain per diems and allowances to offset out-of-pocket expenses. Beyond that, there are some unusual and occasionally unique arrangements which are in place reflecting the diversity of thought and tradition existing in each part of the country. A potpouri of Members' services from Alaska to Wyoming follows.

ALASKA with a population of 500,000 pays its legislators more than any other State—$46,800. Like other states, Alaska has some unusual provisions for Members. Alaska Representatives from outlying areas, for instance, are permitted to move up to 10,000 lbs. of household effects at Assembly cost to Anchorage for the Session. They may include up to three family pets and transport 2 cars at .25 cents a mile. The Assembly pays a per diem for all family members to travel providing the trip takes less than 5 days.

ARIZONA has a "lodging cost index" which lists approximately 101 cities across the country so that if Arizona Representatives travel to those centres the daily maximums for reimbursement are listed. The range is from a low of $37.50 for Great Falls, Montana to a high of $145.50 for New York.

ARKANSAS pays its Representatives $7,500 a year. There's a retirement benefit payable at 65 after 10 years of service. The formula is 1.8% x final salary x years of service. This means that a legislator retiring after 16 years of service (8 terms) would receive $4,320 annually. (Two years of service is credited for each year of service.)

CALIFORNIA, which spends more on the legislative branch of government than any other state ($119 million) provides a leased car or state-owned vehicle for Members while on legislative business. Representatives receive a $196,193 annual budget to defray the cost of capital and district office staff and expenses.

COLORADO pays its legislators a mileage allowance at the rate of 20 cents a mile for one round-trip a week for travel between their district and Denver, the capital. If they happen to drive a four wheel drive vehicle the rate goes up to 24 cents.

CONNECTICUT lawmakers will soon have their offices in a new building connected to the Legislative Building by a tunnel. The $51 million facility will open in 1987 and provide Members with offices 10 by 15 feet. Connecticut legislators who receive more than 5 pieces of mail on a given issue can use a multiple letter service for targeted mailings paid for by the Assembly.

DELAWARE is the smallest state in the Union. Representatives are paid $20,000 annually with $5,000 additional for expenses. 41 Members of the House are served by 15 secretaries, 12 are part-time.

FLORIDA, which pays its Representatives $18,000 a year provides an additional monthly unvouchered allowance of $1,500 to operate a district office. One staff Member from the district can travel to Talahassee for the regular session of the House. Travel reimbursement for staff is computed on a $20 base, plus ½ cent per square mile in the district. A 20 cent mileage allowance is then paid until the budget is exhausted.

GEORGIA compensates its Representatives at $7,200 annually. They receive an additional $59 per diem for Committee work. There are 29 Standing Committees which handle more

than 2,500 House Bills each biennium plus several hundred Senate bills and resolutions which are reviewed by House committees.

HAWAII representatives who live on Islands other than Oahu receive an additional $45 per session day.

IDAHO Representatives receive a salary of $30 for each day spent in an organizational session, regular session or extraordinary session of the Assembly. Each Member is paid $7/day for each calendar day of the year when the Legislature is not in session. Compensation and expense allowances are fixed by a 6 Member citizens' commission which meet every two years. The Legislature may reject or decrease the amount but it may not increase the amount which stays in effect for 2 years.

ILLINOIS Members who are newly elected receive a 125 page handbook "Preface to Lawmaking" and attend a two day New Members' Conference for briefings by the Assembly legislative leadership on all aspects of legislature operations. By statute, the number on the licence plate for an Illinois Representative depicts the Member's length of service as a Member. Legislators must pay a registration fee for the plates.

INDIANA has special arrangements for its Legislative Assembly sessions. For each odd-numbered year, the Assembly is limited to 61 session days and the session must end on or before April 30. In even-numbered years, the Assembly is limited to 30 session days and the session must end on or before March 15. These limitations are imposed by statute.

IOWA Representatives receive $40/day for expenses of office for each day that the Legislature is in session. If the length of the first session exceeds 110 calendar days and the second session exceeds 100 days no additional payments will be made.

KANSAS has an arrangement whereby Members receive $52 salary per calendar day for service at any regular or special session of the general assembly; $50 for a subsistence allowance; and an additional allowance of $600 per calendar month (except for January, February and March) to defray costs between sessions for postage, telephone, office supplies and incidentals.

KENTUCKY has a legislators' Retirement Plan which was created in 1980 and improved in 1982. The annual benefit at age 65 is now 2.75% x years of service x an assumed salary (now set at $27,500). A Representative retiring today after 20 years service would benefit approximately $15,125.

LOUISIANA provides its legislators with access to a nationwide centrex telephone system from their district offices. Up to $325 per month for vouchered expenses is provided for Representatives to maintain a district office plus a one-time $1,000 expenditure for furniture and equipment with the state retaining ownership. In addition the Member receives $250 for each 4 year term served. A secretary is also provided for at up to $1,047 per month.

MAINE has a first regular session of the Assembly which runs in the odd-numbered years from the first week in January to the middle of June; this is called the "long session" and Members receive an allowance in lieu of salary of $7,500. The second regular session runs in the even-numbered years from the first week in January to the middle of April; this is called the "short session" and Members are compensated with a $4,000 salary. Four years ago the Legislature passed a law which established the State Compensation Commission. The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House each appoint two non-elected individuals who in turn select their own Chairperson.

MARYLAND has 141 seats in its General Assembly. Representatives are paid $21,000 a year. In addition they receive a $72/day unvouchered expense allowance to cover food and lodging while on Assembly business in-state and $95/day for out-of-state.

MASSACHUSETTS, although it is not one of the 10 largest states in terms of population, pays its lawmakers more than many of the big ten states. Representatives receive $30,000 annually and the Speaker $65,000. All legislators receive $2,400 annually for expenses. Depending on which district a legislator resides in, he or she may receive a per diem for mileage, meals and lodging of $25/day, $45/day, or $50/day.

MICHIGAN representatives receive a salary of $34,860, an increase of 5% from 1984. In addition there is an expense allowance of $6,700. There is a mileage allowance for one weekly round-trip to the Members' home district. This was reduced in 1985 from 30.25 cents a mile to

24 cents. In Michigan each Representative is allotted $12,000/year to cover mailings, registration fees to attend conferences and for the purchase of certain publications.

MINNESOTA provides its legislators with in-state Watts lines and unlimited business calls. There is a stationery allotment at the beginning of each session of 4,500 letterhead; 30 rolls of 100 1st class postage stamps in the first year of the session; and 14 rolls in the second.

MISSISSIPPI Members receive a salary of $10,000 and an allowance of $500/month for expenses incidental to holding office. The regulations however, state that Members may reduce their salaries by electing to receive $8,100/year in lieu of the $10,000 and also may elect to receive $210/month in lieu of the $500 per month.

MISSOURI Members are eligible for normal retirement benefits at age 60, provided that they have served a minimum of 3 biennial assemblies (6 years). The monthly benefit is equal to $75 multiplied by the number of biennial assemblies served.

MONTANA legislators serve for no salary; they are however entitled to $51.17/day 7 days a week during the legislative session as reimbursement for expenses incurred in attending the session. Expense payments stop when the Legislature recesses for more than 3 days. The Speaker of the House and President of the Senate receive an additional $5/day in salary for those days that the Legislature is in session.

NEW JERSEY ranks ninth in state population. Legislators are provided with district offices, office furnishings, stationery, postage, telephone accounts and an allowance of $30,000 annually for the hiring of personal staff. Legislators receive a salary of $25,000, however they receive no additional compensation per diems, travel allotments or other reimbursement for expenses.

NEW YORK spends $101 million annually on its legislative operations, only slightly less than California. Representatives receive a salary of $43,000 annually and the Speaker of the House receives an additional $30,000 making him the highest paid legislative officer in all the states at $73,000. From 1984 the Members' basic salary was increased by $10,040, or 23.35%.

NEBRASKA has the only unicameral state Legislature in the United States. There are 49 Members and all are designated "Senators". Salary is $400/month. If a Senator lives more than 100 miles round-trip away from the capital he/she is allowed $55/day and one trip a week at 21 cents a mile. If the Senator lives less than 100 miles away, the allowance is $25/day.

NEVADA pays its legislators based on a formula of $104/day according to sitting days. For travelling to sessions at Carson City and return to the District Representatives can receive an additional per diem of $44 and mileage at 20 cents a mile.

NEW HAMPSHIRE legislators are paid the least out of all the states. The House of Representatives consisting of 400 Members, meets for a maximum of 45 session days per year, beginning in January and ending June 30. Representatives receive $200 compensation for their two year term plus 20 cents a mile from home to the capital on actual legislative work days. Each Representative represents approximately 2,300 constituents in a state with a population just under one million. A staff pool is available to Members to assist with committee work assignments and constituency work.

NEW MEXICO Representatives may elect to fly rather than drive. If it is cheaper for a Member to fly first class to the capital than to be reimbursed for mileage at 22 cents, then the legislator is only reimbursed a portion of mileage if he chooses to drive.

NORTH CAROLINA with a population of 6 million ranks as the 10th largest state in terms of population. Members of the General Assembly receive an annual salary of $8,400. Representatives are limited to sending out 50 letters a day at public expense. For mass mailings Members must apply to the Speaker. There is a long distance telephone allowance of $50 a month.

NORTH DAKOTA is the only state which has a special mileage rate for Representatives who choose to fly by private or chartered aircraft to the state capital. The rate is 35 cents per mile by air vs 20 cents a mile for private vehicle.

OHIO is the sixth largest state. Legislative branch expenditures of $16.6 million, however, represent .13% of annual state expenditures and rank well below any other major state. Nevertheless Ohio legislators are paid $30,152 annually which is considerably above most.

OKLAHOMA Representatives receive

Table 26 1984 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH EXPENDITURES IN TEN LARGEST U.S. STATES

State	*Population*[1] *(1984)*	*General Government Estimates*[2] *(In $1000)*	*Number of Legislators*	*Legislative Branch Expenditures*[3] *(In $1000)*	*Legislative Branch Per Capita*
California	25,622,000	$39,379,826	120	$119,283	$4.66
New York	17,735,000	$29,957,629	211	$101,414	$5.72
Texas	15,989,000	$15,401,828	181	$ 39,173	$2.45
Pennsylvania	11,901,000	$13,788,499	253	$ 61,569	$5.17
Illinois	11,511,000	$13,423,439	177	$ 34,529	$3.00
Ohio	10,752,000	$13,187,936	132	$ 16,683	$1.55
Florida	10,976,000	$ 9,680,737	160	$ 35,536	$3.24
Michigan	9,075,000	$13,395,814	148	$ 52,346	$5.77
New Jersey	7,515,000	$10,642,145	120	$ 24,452	$3.25
North Carolina	6,165,000	$ 7,023,785	170	$ 6,994	$1.13

[1]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Preliminary Figures as of July 1, 1984.
[2]Figures from *State Government Finances in 1984*, Table 9 "State Government Expenditures by Type and Function: 1984," U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Census.
[3]Figures from *State Government Finances in 1984*, Table II "State Government Expenditures by Function and State: 1984", U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Table 27 1984 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH EXPENDITURES IN CANADIAN PROVINCES

Province	*Population*[1]	*Government Estimates*[2] *(In $1000)*	*Number of Legislators*	*Legislative Branch Expenditures (In $1000)*	*Legislative Branch Per Capita*
Ontario	8,957,200	$26,752,000	125	$36,785	$ 4.11
Quebec	6,545,700	$25,640,000	122	$50,555	$ 7.72
B.C.	2,867,900	$ 7,776,000	57	$ 7,616	$ 2.66
Alberta	2,341,500	$ 9,644,338	79	$12,036	$ 5.14
Manitoba	1,059,100	$ 3,457,627	57	$ 4,342	$ 4.10
Saskatchewan	1,010,400	$ 2,912,701	64	$ 8,343	$ 8.26
Nova Scotia	872,700	$ 2,770,234	52	$ 4,542	$ 5.20
N.B.	714,700	$ 2,495,797	58	$ 5,123	$ 7.17
Newfoundland	579,200	$ 2,215,570	52	$ 6,327	$10.92
P.E.I.	125,700	$ 440,301	32	$ 1,167	$ 9.28

[1] Statistics Canada, Updated Post-Censal Estimates as of July 1, 1984.
[2] Figures from 1984-85 Expenditure Estimates for individual Provinces.

Legislative Branch per Legislator	*Legislative Branch as Percent of State Expenditures*	*Rank on Legislative Expenditure as Percent of General Expenditures*
$994,025	.30%	19
$480,635	.34%	16
$216,425	.25%	29
$243,356	.45%	5
$195,079	.26%	27
$126,386	.13%	49
$222,100	.37%	14
$353,689	.39%	12
$203,767	.23%	33
$ 41,141	.10%	48

Legislative Branch per Legislator	*Legislative Branch as Percent of Provincial Expenditures*	*Rank on Legislative Expenditure as Percent of General Expenditures*
$294,280	.14%	7
$414,385	.20%	5
$133,614	.10%	10
$152,354	.12%	9
$ 76,175	.13%	8
$130,359	.29%	1
$ 87,346	.16%	6
$ 88,328	.21%	4
$121,673	.29%	2
$ 36,469	.27%	3

$20,000/year. As in most states there are various expense allowances, however secretarial and office help are provided by the House from general budget. There are no provisions for district offices.

OREGON legislators receive an interim expense allowance of $400/month. An extra monthly allowance is paid based on the size of the district. District Square Miles: 1,000 - 4,999 = $50; 5,000 - 9,999 = $100; 10,000 and above = $150.

PENNSYLVANIA as the fourth largest state has a wide range of allowances for its Representatives, including the provision of an automobile. The automobile must be of American manufacture and rental cost may not exceed $450/month.

RHODE ISLAND Members receive $5 per day for their services, an amount set by the Constitution. The session lasts from 60—65 days, however Representatives are limited to a total of $300. Eight cents a day mileage is also fixed by the Constitution and may only be collected for each day the House is sitting. Rhode Island has 100 Representatives and 50 Senators. A constitutional conference took place in November (after *Canadian Legislatures* went to press) to decide whether Rhode Island has too many Members; whether they should sit part-time or full-time; and whether they should try and raise salaries for elected Members.

SOUTH CAROLINA pays its Representatives $10,000 annually, but the State Constitution provides that Members shall not receive compensation for more than 40 days of any one session. If Members are called into an extra session continuing on from the regular session, they are paid at the rate of $250/day.

SOUTH DAKOTA legislators are among the lowest paid. There is a $6,000 salary for each two year term paid as follows: $2,800 during the 35 day session; and $3,200 during the 40 day session. If reimbursed for overnight lodging and meals during interim periods, Representatives receive $18/day lodging and $20/day food. In addition, Members receive a $75/day allowance for each legislative day and during the interim if serving on a committee.

TENNESSEE Representatives are only reimbursed for one return trip to the capital during a session at the rate of 20 cents a mile or the cost of commercial transportation. The annual

salary is $12,500 plus a $71 a day expense allowance. Members also receive a $325 non-vouchered home office monthly allowance.

TEXAS with a population of 15 million is the third largest state. Representatives are paid $7,200 a year and there are no additional emoluments for leadership positions. There is a $30/day allowance for Members while living in Austin, the capital, and a mileage allowance of 23 cents based on 4 round-trips to Austin a month. Offsetting these modest amounts is a $6,500/month allowance during the 5 month biennial session for district and capitol offices, staff and postage expenses. During the remaining 19 months of the biennial period, the allowance is $5,500/month.

UTAH pays its Representatives $65/day for 45 days plus $25/day for each calendar day of the session. Legislators receive $25/day for attending committee meetings in the interim. Mileage of 20.5 cents is paid to legislators residing within Salt Lake County or Davis County for travel between their residence and the state capital. Representatives living outside these counties receive the mileage allowance or a lodging allowance of $50/day for each calendar day of the session.

VERMONT Members of the General Assembly are entitled to $285 weekly during a biennial session; and $300 weekly for an adjourned session. During a special session a Member is entitled to $57 per day for each day of the session which has been called between the biennial and the adjourned session, and $60 a day if called at any time following the adjourned session.

VIRGINIA provides an annual salary for Representatives of $11,000, plus a travel and subsistence allowance of $71/day while the House is in session. Funds are provided so that each Member may hire a legislative aide for up to $9,000/year.

WASHINGTON legislators have access to a large pool of Assembly and caucus staff who can assist with research, constituent services, communications and word processing. They are paid $13,750 annually and receive a per diem of $50.

WEST VIRGINIA Representatives were paid $5,136 in 1984, which was raised to $6,500 for 1985. They received a further increase in the expense allowance from $35 to $50.

WISCONSIN legislators receive an annual salary which cannot be changed during any given two-year term of office. Consequently, all Representatives elected in November 1984 will receive a salary of $27,202 for the 1985 session. However, Representatives elected in 1982 who are "holdover" Representatives in the 1985 session will receive $22,632.

WYOMING conducts most of the work of the Wyoming Assembly through joint interim committees. Legislators are on at least two committees and are assigned 3 or 4 work projects. They are paid a per diem of $60 and a salary of $75 on committee days. Mileage reimbursement is set at 35 cents, the highest of any legislature, but is limited to one round-trip to attend the session or committee meetings. Legislators receive a $75/day salary for attending regular sessions of the Assembly and $60 expense allowance.

Table 28 1985 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION AND PER DIEM LIVING EXPENSES

State	*Annual Salaries* $	*Per Diem Salary*	*Per Diem Living Expenses During Session*
Alabama	7,200	$10	$85 (unvouchered)
Alaska	46,800		None, but annual allowance of $4,000
Arizona	15,000		$60 ($35 for Maricopa County legislators) (unvouchered)
Arkansas	7,500		$44 (vouchered) + $20 for each sitting day
California	33,732		$75 (unvouchered)
Colorado	17,500		$35 (up to $70 if Member lives outside Denver) (unvouchered)
Connecticut	13,000		Receive no per diem but $3,500 annually (unvouchered)
Delaware	20,000		Receive no per diem, but $5,000 annually
Florida	18,000		$50 (unvouchered)
Georgia	7,200		$59 (unvouchered)
Hawaii	15,600		$45 (for legislators outside of Oahu) (unvouchered)
Idaho	4,200 $30/day when in session; 30/day when not in session if engaged in legislative business; $7/calendar day when not in regular session		$60 ($35 if legislators who commute) (unvouchered)
Illinois	32,500		$65 (unvouchered)
Indiana	11,600		$75 (unvouchered)
Iowa	14,600		$40 (unvouchered) Members from Polk County (Capitol) receive only $25 (unvouchered)
Kansas		$52 per day	$50 (unvouchered)
Kentucky		$100 per day for actual attendance	$75 actual daily attendance (unvouchered)
Louisiana	19,200		$75 (unvouchered)
Maine	7,500 first year of biennial session and $4,000 in the second year		$50 ($24 for Augusta legislators) (vouchered)

Table 28 1985 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION AND PER DIEM LIVING EXPENSES

State	*Annual Salaries* $	*Per Diem Salary*	*Per Diem Living Expenses During Session*
Maryland	21,000		$72 for actual daily attendance (unvouchered)
Massachusetts	30,000		Per diem of $25, $45 or $50 depending on where legislator lives + $2,400 annually
Michigan	34,860		Total of $6,700 annually (vouchered)
Minnesota	21,140		$36 ($23 for metropolitan legislators (unvouchered)
Mississippi	8,100 but for 1986 they will receive 10,000		$44 for actual daily attendance (none for Jackson legislators) (unvouchered)
Missouri	19,524.24		$35 for actual daily attendance (unvouchered)
Montana		$51.17/day, 7 days/week during session	A maximum of $74/day (unvouchered)
Nebraska	4,800		$55 if more than 100 miles away, $25 if less than 100 miles
Nevada		Up to $3,120 (based on $104/day)	$44 maximum (unvouchered)
New Hampshire	$200 for a 2 year term		Receive per diem of $15 for meals when travelling but receive mileage for every session day
New Jersey	25,000		Receive no per diem
New Mexico		$75/session day; 60 days in odd-numbered and 30 days in even-numbered years	Receive no per diem
New York	43,000		Up to $75 (vouchered)
North Carolina	10,908 includes 8,400/year and 209/month		$60 (unvouchered)
North Dakota		$90/day	Maximum of $600 per month for legislators outside Bismark (unvouchered)
Ohio	30,152		Receive no per diem (only weekly mileage during session)

Table 28 1985 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION AND PER DIEM LIVING EXPENSES

State	*Annual Salaries* $	*Per Diem Salary*	*Per Diem Living Expenses During Session*
Oklahoma	20,000		$35 (only mileage during session if legislator lives at home) (vouchered)
Oregon	9,300 based on 775/month		$50 (unvouchered)
Pennsylvania	35,000		$75 (vouchered)
Rhode Island		$300 (based on $5/day	Receive no per diem (receive mileage each day of session attendance)
South Carolina	10,000		$68 subsistence (vouchered)
South Dakota	6,000–2,800 during 35 day session and 3,200 during 40 day session		$75/5-day week (unvouchered)
Tennessee	12,500		$71 (unvouchered)
Texas	7,200		$30 (unvouchered)
Utah		$65/day for 45 days and $25/day for each calendar day of the session	$25 subsistence/$50 lodging or mileage for legislators outside of Salt Lake City
Vermont		$285/week during biennial session; $300/week for adjourned session; $57 *a day* for each day of session called between biennial and the adjourned session and $60 if called any time following the adjourned session	$60 for room and meals if living in Montpelier or vicinity; if outside Montpelier, then $23.75/for meals
Virginia	11,000		$71 (unvouchered)
Washington	13,750		$50 (unvouchered)
West Virginia	6,500		$50 (unvouchered)
Wisconsin	27,202		$41.63 ($20.81 if legislator lives inside Dane County) (unvouchered)
Wyoming		$75/day for 40 days in odd-numbered years and 20 days in even-numbered years	$60 (unvouchered)

Table 29 1985 ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION FOR U.S. LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

State	*Presiding Officer*	*Majority Leader*	*Minority Leader*	*Other Leaders*
AL	$2/day during session and an additional $1,500.00 a month in expenses	NONE	NONE	NONE
AK	$500/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
AR	$2,500/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
CO	$50/day up to $5,000 during interim	$50/day up to $5,000 during interim	$50/day up to $5,000 during interim	
CT	$4,000/year	$3,000/year	$3,000/year	YES
DE	$7,500/year	$5,500/year	$5,500/year	YES
FL	$7,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
GA	$2,800/year	$2,400/year	$2,400/year	YES
IL	$10,000/year	$7,500/year	$10,000/year	YES
IN	$5,000/year	$3,500/year	$4,000/year	YES
IA	$7,300/year	$2,500/year	$2,500/year	NO
KS	$8,285/year	$7,474/year	$7,474/year	NO
KY	$125/day/session	$120/day/session	$120/day/session	YES
LA	$32,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
ME	$3,750/year	$1,875/year	$1,875/year	YES
MD	$5,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
MA	$35,000/year	$22,500/year	$22,500/year	YES
MI	$18,000/year	NONE	$14,000/year	NONE
MN	$8,456/year	$8,456/year	$8,456/year	NONE
MS	$25,900/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
MO	$2,500/year	$1,500/year	$1,500/year	NONE
MT	$5/day during session	NONE	NONE	NONE
NV	$5/day during session	NONE	NONE	NONE
NH	$25/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
NY	$30,000/year	$25,000/year	$25,000/year	YES
NC	$16,644/year	NONE	$2,100/year	YES
ND	$10/day/session	$10/day/session	$10/day/session	NONE
OH	$16,848/year	$10,242/year	$12,731/year	YES
OK	$9,330/year	$6,440/year	$6,440/year	NONE
OR	$775/month	NONE	NONE	NONE
PA	$19,600/year	$15,680/year	$15,680/year	YES
RI	$5/day	NONE	NONE	NONE
SC	$11,000/year	NONE	NONE	YES
TN	$6,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
VT	$6,055 for biennial and $6,300 for adjourned session	NONE	NONE	NONE
VA	$12,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
WV	up to $150/day during session	up to $125/day during session	up to $125/day during session	
WY	$33/day/session	NONE	NONE	NONE

Table 30 1985 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES SESSIONS CALENDARS

	Dates	*Limits*
AL	Feb. 7–May 25	30 legislative in 105 calendar days
AK	2nd Mon in Jan. for 120 days	120 calendar days; 1 10-day extension
AZ	Jan. 9–April 20	no limit
AR	No regular session	60 calendar days
CA	Jan. 3–Aug. 31	no limit
CO	Jan. 4–late May	no limit
CT	Feb. 8–May 9	May 9
DE	Jan. 10–June 30	June 30
FL	April 3–June 1	60 calendar days
GA	Jan. 9–early March	40 legislative days
HI	Jan. 18–late April	60 legislative days
ID	Jan. 9–late March	no limit
IL	Jan. 11–June 30	no limit
IN	Jan. 9–early March	30 legislative or March 15
IA	Jan. 9–mid April	* no limit
KS	Jan. 9–April 7	90 calendar days
KY	Jan. 3–April 15	60 legislative days
LA	April 16–July 9	60 legislative in 85 calendar
ME	Jan. 4–late March	50 legislative
MD	Jan. 11–April 9	90 calandar days
MA	Jan. 4–all year	no limit
MI	Jan. 4–all year	no limit
MN	Mar. 16–late April	120 legislative or 1st Mon. after 3rd Sat. in May
MS	Jan. 3–May 6	125 calendar days
MO	Jan. 4–May 15	May 15
MT	No regular session	90 legislative days
NE	Jan. 4–early April	60 legislative days
NV	No regular session	* 60 calendar days
NH	No regular session	* limit on expenses of 90 days or July 1
NJ	Jan. 10–all year	no limit
NM	Jan. 17–Feb. 15	30 calendar days
NY	Jan. 4–late June	no limit
NC	June 7–late June	no limit
ND	No regular session	80 legislative days
OH	Jan. 3–all year	no limit
OK	Jan. 3–June	90 legislative days
OR	No regular session	no limit
PA	Jan. 3–all year	no limit
RI	Jan. 3–early May	* no limit
SC	Jan. 10–June 7	1st Thurs. in June
SD	Jan. 3–March 1	35 legislative days
TN	Jan. 10–April	* 90 legislative days
TX	No regular session	140 calendar days
UT	Jan. 9–Jan. 28	20 calendar days
VT	Jan. 4–mid-April	* no limit
VA	Jan. 11–March 10	60 calendar days
WA	Jan. 9–March 8	60 calendar days
WV	Jan. 11–March 10	60 calendar days
WI	Jan. 31–April 6	no limit
WY	Feb. 14–March 9	20 legislative days

(Session adjournment dates are either constitutionally mandated or are estimates based on recent legislative practice).
*limit on number of days for which legislatures may be paid or receive per diem.

AN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE:

Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Contrasts and Convergences

BY DR. J. AUSTIN RANNEY

Forty years ago I learned from my professor of comparative government at Yale that a parliamentary democracy is like a canoe: it is neat, logical, and lovely to see; it goes where its steersman tells it to go; it can cut through and across currents; it can change course rapidly; and the canoeists are usually dry; but if it hits a rock, it holes easily and sinks because it is dependent on all parts working together in perfect concord. A presidential democracy, on the other hand, is like a raft: it is an ugly lash-up of logs, twigs, and mud; it can hardly be steered at all; the rafters are always wet and often soaked; but if it hits a rock it simply bounces off and goes on, so it is unsinkable.

There is still something to this metaphor, but not as much as there was in the 1940's. For the fact is that today many presidential democracies are becoming more parliamentary, and many parliamentary democracies are becoming more presidential. In the United States, for example, many advocates of constitutional change are urging the adoption of such parliamentary-tending reforms as giving cabinet members speaking places in Congress and empowering the president to call a new election whenever there is hopeless deadlock between himself and Congress. And in Great Britain there is increasing talk of a written bill of rights, judicial review, and the selection of parliamentary candidates and party leaders by direct primaries of ordinary party members.

Three main propositions are set forth. (1) Many contrasts still remain between parliamentary and presidential democracies. (2) Nevertheless, there have also been some significant convergences between the two systems, and they are less different today than they were a generation ago. And (3) the staggering difficulties faced by all democratic governments today may well force the two systems to learn from each other in the future even more rapidly than they have in the past. Let me briefly elaborate each proposition.

Contrasts. The parliamentary system *evolved* from a system in which there was only kingly power and no differentiated executive or judicial power. Over the centuries that kingly power has been hedged by various limitations, particularly the development of a powerful elected parliament and the vesting of policymaking leadership in a group of ministers collectively responsible to that parliament. But the system rests today, as it did in the Eleventh Century, on the assumption that the Queen's government is natural, organic, and good.

The presidential system, by contrast, was created as a deliberate exercise in constitutional engineering by the men of Philadelphia in 1787. They believed that government is an invention created by man to protect his natural rights against the perils of anarchy; that government is an unfortunate and ever-dangerous necessity; and that the first purpose of its institutions is to keep government from becoming too powerful.

Accordingly, the two ways of organizing democracy have grown from two quite different stems and much of their shape today is determined by their origins. The essence of parliamentary government remains the concentration of power in parliament and the fact that the people who manage the ministries *must* hold seats in one or another of the chambers of Parliament. And it has been undergirded by perhaps the most important

constitutional development of all: the development of a highly disciplined and cohesive two-party system that casts the entire governmental process into a contest between the Government and the Opposition. Where multi-party systems have developed, as in most continental European politics, parliamentary democracy is similar in appearance but very different in operation to what we see in Westminster, Ottawa, and Canberra.

By the same token, the essence of presidential government remains the separation of powers and personnel among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, each defending its prerogatives against the others by an elaborate system of checks and balances. The constitutional system has both created and been reinforced by a two-party system composed of two undisciplined, uncohesive parties that help greatly to keep governmental power fragmented and dispersed among many different governmental and extragovernmental agencies.

Convergences. The many difficulties encountered by both parliamentary and presidential democracies since World War II have inclined many people working in each system to look at the other and seek ways of importing some of its virtues into their own systems. In the United States in the 1970's and 1980's, for example, the major political parties have become noticeably more disciplined and cohesive, especially in Congress, and both the Democratic and Republican congressional parties now play roles more similar to those played by parties in the parliamentary democracies than has ever been the case before. Thus, while it is unlikely that many features of the parliamentary system will be formally installed in the written American constitutional system, it is true that changes in the *party* system have made the presidential system noticeably if not greatly more parliamentary. Equally, the development of select committees in the House of Commons and the weakening of party discipline and cohesion in both of the major parties—and the rise of the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance—bids fair to bring fargoing changes in the party base which animates and operates the Westminster version of parliamentary democracy. Indeed, current developments in the British party system may very soon, if they have not already, mean that Westminster will come to resemble Washington enough that the purest example of the classical parliamentary system will be found in Ottawa or Canberra rather than in Westminster.

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Television monitors in the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly at Regina, which carry gavel to gavel coverage of the House, symbolize the arrival of the electronic age in Canadian and U.S. Legislatures.